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THE WORKS OF WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT

TWENTY-TWO VOLUMES

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Montezuma Edition

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR Charles the Fifth

BY

WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D.D.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE EMPEROR'S LIFE AFTER HIS ABDICATION

BY

WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT

EDITED BY

WILFRED HAROLD MUNRO

PROFESSOR OF EUROPEAN HISTORY IN BROWN UNIVERSITY

VOL. IV

PHILADELPHIA AND LONDON
J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY

CHARLES V. PICKING UP THE PENCIL DROPPED BY TITIAN

Page 581

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AS soon as the treaty of Passau was signed, Maurice, in consequence of his engagements with Ferdinand, marched into Hungary at the head of twenty thousand men. But the great superiority of the Turkish armies, the frequent mutinies both of the Spanish and German soldiers, occasioned by their want of pay, together with the

dissensions between Maurice and Castaldo, who was piqued at being obliged to resign the chief command to him, prevented his performing anything in that country suitable to his former fame, or of great benefit to the king of the Romans.[1]

When Maurice set out for Hungary, the prince of Hesse parted from him with the forces under his command, and marched back into his own country, that he might be ready to receive his father upon his return and give up to him the reins of government which he had held during his absence. But fortune was not yet weary of persecuting the landgrave. A battalion of mercenary troops which had been in the pay of Hesse, being seduced by Reifenberg, their colonel, a soldier of fortune, ready to engage in any enterprise, secretly withdrew from the young prince as he was marching homewards, and joined Albert of Brandenburg, who still continued in arms against the emperor, refusing to be included in the treaty of Passau. Unhappily for the landgrave, an account of this reached the Netherlands just as he was dismissed from the citadel of Mechlin, where he had been confined, but before he had got beyond the frontiers of that country. The queen of Hungary, who governed there in her brother's name, incensed at such an open violation of the treaty to which he owed his liberty, issued orders to arrest him, and committed him again into the custody of the same Spanish captain who had guarded him for five years with the most severe vigilance. Philip beheld all the horrors of his imprisonment

[1] Istuanhaffii Hist. Hungar., 288.—Thuan., lib. x. 371.

renewed; and, his spirits subsiding in the same proportion as they had risen during the short interval in which he had enjoyed liberty, he sunk into despair, and believed himself to be doomed to perpetual captivity. But the matter being so explained to the emperor as fully satisfied him that the revolt of Reifenberg's mercenaries could be imputed neither to the landgrave nor to his son, he gave orders for his release; and Philip at last obtained the liberty for which he had so long languished.[2] But, though he recovered his freedom and was reinstated in his dominions, his sufferings seem to have broken the vigor and to have extinguished the activity of his mind. From being the boldest as well as most enterprising prince in the empire, he became the most timid and cautious, and passed the remainder of his days in a pacific indolence.

The degraded elector of Saxony likewise procured his liberty in consequence of the treaty of Passau. The emperor, having been obliged to relinquish all his schemes for extirpating the Protestant religion, had no longer any motive for detaining him a prisoner; and, being extremely solicitous at that juncture to recover the confidence and good will of the Germans, whose assistance was essential to the success of the enterprise which he meditated against the king of France, he, among other expedients for that purpose, thought of releasing from imprisonment a prince whose merit entitled him no less to esteem than his sufferings rendered him the object of compassion.

[2] Sleid., 573.—Belcarii Comment., 834.

John Frederic took possession, accordingly, of that part of his territories which had been reserved for him when Maurice was invested with the electoral dignity. As in this situation he continued to display the same virtuous magnanimity for which he had been conspicuous in a more prosperous and splendid state, and which he had retained amidst all his sufferings, he maintained during the remainder of his life that high reputation to which he had so just a title.

The loss of Metz, Toul, and Verdun had made a deep impression on the emperor. Accustomed to terminate all his operations against France with advantage to himself, he thought that it nearly concerned his honor not to allow Henry the superiority in this war, or to suffer his own administration to be stained with the infamy of having permitted territories of such consequence to be dismembered from the empire. This was no less a point of interest than of honor. As the frontier of Champagne was more naked and lay more exposed than that of any province in France, Charles had frequently, during his wars with that kingdom, made inroads upon that quarter with great success and effect; but if Henry were allowed to retain his late conquests, France would gain such a formidable barrier on that side as to be altogether secure where formerly she had been weakest. On the other hand, the empire had now lost as much, in point of security, as France had acquired, and, being stripped of the defence which those cities afforded it, lay open to be invaded on a quarter where all the towns, having been hitherto

considered as interior and remote from an enemy, were but slightly fortified. These considerations determined Charles to attempt recovering the three towns of which Henry had made himself master; and the preparations which he had made against Maurice and his associates enabled him to carry his resolution into immediate execution.

As soon, then, as the peace was concluded at Passau, he left his inglorious retreat at Villach, and advanced to Augsburg, at the head of a considerable body of Germans which he had levied, together with all the troops which he had drawn out of Italy and Spain. To these he added several battalions, which, having been in the pay of the confederates, entered into his service when dismissed by them; and he prevailed likewise on some princes of the empire to join him with their vassals. In order to conceal the destination of this formidable army, and to guard against alarming the French king so as to put him on preparing for the defence of his late conquests, he gave out that he was to march forthwith into Hungary, in order to second Maurice in his operations against the infidels. When he began to advance towards the Rhine, and could no longer employ that pretext, he tried a new artifice, and spread a report that he took this route in order to chastise Albert of Brandenburg, whose cruel exactions in that part of the empire called loudly for his interposition to check them.

But the French, having grown acquainted at last with arts by which they had been so often deceived, viewed all Charles's motions with dis-

trust. Henry immediately discerned the true object of his vast preparations, and resolved to defend the important conquests which he had gained with vigor equal to that with which they were about to be attacked. As he foresaw that the whole weight of the war would be turned against Metz, by whose fate that of Toul and Verdun would be determined, he nominated Francis of Lorraine, duke of Guise, to take the command in that city during the siege, the issue of which would equally affect the honor and interest of his country.

His choice could not have fallen upon any more worthy of that trust. The duke of Guise possessed in a high degree all the talents of courage, sagacity, and presence of mind which render men eminent in military command. He was largely endowed with that magnanimity of soul which delights in bold enterprises and aspires to fame by splendid and extraordinary actions. He repaired with joy to the dangerous station assigned him, as to a theatre on which he might display his great qualities under the immediate eye of his countrymen, all ready to applaud him. The martial genius of the French nobility in that age, which considered it as the greatest reproach to remain inactive when there was any opportunity of signalizing their courage, prompted great numbers to follow a leader who was the darling as well as the pattern of every one that courted military fame. Several princes of the blood, many noblemen of the highest rank, and all the young officers who could obtain the king's permission, entered

Metz as volunteers. By their presence they added spirit to the garrison, and enabled the duke of Guise to employ, on every emergency, persons eager to distinguish themselves and fit to conduct any service.

But, with whatever alacrity the duke of Guise undertook the defence of Metz, he found everything, upon his arrival there, in such a situation as might have induced any person of less intrepid courage to despair of defending it with success. The city was of great extent, with large suburbs; the walls were in many places feeble and without ramparts; the ditch narrow; and the old towers which projected instead of bastions were at too great distance from each other to defend the space between them. For all these defects he endeavored to provide the best remedy which the time would permit. He ordered the suburbs, without sparing the monasteries or churches, not even that of St. Arnulph, in which several kings of France had been buried, to be levelled with the ground; but, in order to guard against the imputation of impiety to which such a violation of so many sacred edifices, as well as of the ashes of the dead, might expose him, he executed this with much religious ceremony. Having ordered all the holy vestments and utensils, together with the bones of the kings and other persons deposited in these churches, to be removed, they were carried in solemn procession to a church within the walls, he himself walking before them bareheaded, with a torch in his hand. He then pulled down such houses as stood near the walls, cleared and

enlarged the ditch, repaired the ruinous fortifications, and erected new ones. As it was necessary that all these works should be finished with the utmost expedition, he labored at them with his own hands; the officers and volunteers imitated his example; and the soldiers submitted with cheerfulness to the most severe and fatiguing service, when they saw that their superiors did not decline to bear a part in it. At the same time, he compelled all useless persons to leave the place; he filled the magazines with provisions and military stores; he burnt the mills and destroyed the corn and forage for several miles around the town. Such were his popular talents, as well as his arts of acquiring an ascendant over the minds of men, that the citizens seconded him with no less ardor than the soldiers; and, every other passion being swallowed up in the zeal to repulse the enemy with which he inspired them, they beheld the ruin of their estates, together with the havoc which he made among their public and private buildings, without any emotion of resentment.[3]

Meantime, the emperor, having collected all his forces, continued his march towards Metz. As he passed through the cities on the Rhine, he saw the dismal effects of that licentious and wasteful war which Albert had carried on in these parts. Upon his approach, that prince, though at the head of twenty thousand men, withdrew into Lorraine, as if he had intended to join the French king, whose arms he had quartered with his own in all his standards and ensigns. Albert was not in a con-

[3] Thuan., xi. 387.

dition to cope with the imperial troops,[4] which amounted at least to sixty thousand men, forming one of the most numerous and best-appointed armies which had been brought into the field during that age, in any of the wars among Christian princes.

The chief command, under the emperor, was committed to the duke of Alva, assisted by the marquis de Marignano, together with the most experienced of the Italian and Spanish generals. As it was now towards the end of October, these intelligent officers represented the great danger of beginning, at such an advanced season, a siege which could not fail to prove very tedious. But Charles adhered to his own opinion with his usual obstinacy, and, being confident that he had made such preparations and taken such precautions as would insure success, he ordered the city to be invested. As soon as the duke of Alva appeared, a large body of the French sallied out and attacked his vanguard with great vigor, put it in confusion, and killed or took prisoners a considerable number of men. By this early specimen which they gave of the conduct of their officers as well as the valor of their troops, they showed the imperialists what an enemy they had to encounter, and how dear every advantage must cost them. The place, however, was completely invested, the trenches were opened, and the other works begun.

The attention both of the besiegers and besieged was turned for some time towards Albert of Brandenburg, and they strove with emulation

[4] Natal. Comitis Hist., 127.

which should gain that prince, who still hovered in the neighborhood, fluctuating in all the uncertainty of irresolution natural to a man who, being swayed by no principle, was allured different ways by contrary views of interest. The French tempted him with offers extremely beneficial; the imperialists scrupled at no promise which they thought might allure him. After much hesitation, he was gained by the emperor, from whom he expected to receive advantages which were both more immediate and more permanent. As the French king, who began to suspect his intentions, had appointed a body of troops, under the duke of Aumale, brother to the duke of Guise, to watch his motions, Albert fell upon them unexpectedly with such vigor that he routed them entirely, killed many of the officers, wounded Aumale himself, and took him prisoner. Immediately after this victory he marched in triumph to Metz and joined his army to that of the emperor. Charles, in reward for this service and the great accession of strength which he brought him, granted Albert a formal pardon of all past offences, and confirmed him in the possession of the territories which he had violently usurped during the war.[5]

The duke of Guise, though deeply affected with his brother's misfortune, did not remit in any degree the vigor with which he defended the town. He harassed the besiegers by frequent sallies, in which his officers were so eager to distinguish themselves that, his authority being hardly sufficient to restrain the impetuosity of their courage,

[5] Sleid., 575.—Thuan., lib. xi. 389, 392.

he was obliged at different times to shut the gates and to conceal the keys, in order to prevent the princes of the blood and noblemen of the first rank from exposing themselves to danger in every sally. He repaired in the night what the enemy's artillery had beat down during the day, or erected behind the ruined works new fortifications of almost equal strength. The imperialists, on their part, pushed on the attack with great spirit, and carried forward at once approaches against different parts of the town. But the art of attacking fortified places was not then arrived at that degree of perfection to which it was carried towards the close of the sixteenth century, during the long war in the Netherlands. The besiegers, after the unwearied labor of many weeks, found that they had made but little progress; and, although their batteries had made breaches in different places, they saw, to their astonishment, works suddenly appear, in demolishing which their fatigues and dangers would be renewed. The emperor, enraged at the obstinate resistance which his army met with, left Thionville, where he had been confined by a violent fit of the gout; and, though still so infirm that he was obliged to be carried in a litter, he repaired to the camp, that by his presence he might animate the soldiers and urge on the attack with greater spirit. Upon his arrival, new batteries were erected, and new efforts were made with redoubled ardor.

But by this time winter had set in with great rigor; the camp was alternately deluged with rain or covered with snow; at the same time provisions

were become extremely scarce, as a body of French cavalry which hovered in the neighborhood often interrupted the convoys or rendered their arrival difficult and uncertain. Diseases began to spread among the soldiers, especially among the Italians and Spaniards, unaccustomed to such inclement weather; great numbers were disabled from serving, and many died. At length, such breaches were made as seemed practicable, and Charles resolved to hazard a general assault, in spite of all the remonstrances of his generals against the imprudence of attacking a numerous garrison, conducted and animated by the most gallant of the French nobility, with an army weakened by diseases and disheartened with ill success. The duke of Guise, suspecting the emperor's intentions from the extraordinary movements which he observed in the enemy's camp, ordered all his troops to their respective posts. They appeared immediately on the walls, and behind the breaches, with such a determined countenance, so eager for the combat, and so well prepared to give the assailants a warm reception, that the imperialists, instead of advancing to the charge when the word of command was given, stood motionless in a timid, dejected silence. The emperor, perceiving that he could not trust troops whose spirits were so much broken, retired abruptly to his quarters, complaining that he was now deserted by his soldiers, who deserved no longer the name of men.[6]

Deeply as this behavior of his troops mortified and affected Charles, he would not hear of aban-

[6] Thuan., 397.

doning the siege, though he saw the necessity of changing the method of attack. He suspended the fury of his batteries, and proposed to proceed by the more secure but tedious method of sapping. But, as it still continued to rain or to snow almost incessantly, such as were employed in this service endured incredible hardships; and the duke of Guise, whose industry was not inferior to his valor, discovering all their mines, counterworked them, and prevented their effect. At last, Charles, finding it impossible to contend any longer with the severity of the season, and with enemies whom he could neither overpower by force nor subdue by art, while at the same time a contagious distemper raged among his troops and cut off daily great numbers of the officers as well as soldiers, yielded to the solicitations of his generals, who conjured him to save the remains of his army by a timely retreat. "Fortune," says he, "I now perceive, resembles other females, and chooses to confer her favors on young men, while she turns her back on those who are advanced in years."

Upon this, he gave orders immediately to raise the siege, and submitted to the disgrace of abandoning the enterprise, after having continued fifty-six days before the town, during which time he had lost upwards of thirty thousand men, who died of diseases or were killed by the enemy. The duke of Guise, as soon as he perceived the intention of the imperialists, sent out several bodies, both of cavalry and infantry, to infest their rear, to pick up stragglers, and to seize every opportunity of attacking them with advantage. Such

was the confusion with which they made their retreat that the French might have harassed them in the most cruel manner. But when they sallied out, a spectacle presented itself to their view which extinguished at once all hostile rage and melted them into tenderness and compassion. The imperial camp was filled with the sick and wounded, with the dead and the dying. In all the different roads by which the army retired, numbers were found who, having made an effort to escape beyond their strength, were left, when they could go no further, to perish without assistance. This they received from their enemies, and were indebted to them for all the kind offices which their friends had not the power to perform. The duke of Guise immediately ordered proper refreshments for such as were dying of hunger; he appointed surgeons to attend the sick and wounded; he removed such as could bear it into the adjacent villages; and those who would have suffered by being carried so far, he admitted into the hospitals which he had fitted up in the city for his own soldiers. As soon as they recovered, he sent them home under an escort of soldiers and with money to bear their charges. By these acts of humanity, which were uncommon in that age, when war was carried on with greater rancor and ferocity than at present, the duke of Guise completed the fame which he had acquired by his gallant and successful defence of Metz, and engaged those whom he had vanquished to vie with his own countrymen in extolling his name.[7]

[7] Sleid., 575.—Thuan., lib. xi. 389, etc.—Père Daniel, Hist. de France, tom. iii. 392.—Père Daniel's account of this siege is taken

To these calamities in Germany were added such unfortunate events in Italy as rendered this the most disastrous year in the emperor's life. During his residence at Villach, Charles had applied to Cosmo de' Medici for the loan of two hundred thousand crowns. But his credit at that time was so low that in order to obtain this inconsiderable sum he was obliged to put him in possession of the principality of Piombino, and by giving up that he lost the footing which he had hitherto maintained in Tuscany, and enabled Cosmo to assume for the future the tone and deportment of a prince altogether independent. Much about the time that his indigence constrained him to part with this valuable territory, he lost Siena, which was of still greater consequence, through the ill conduct of Don Diego de Mendoza.[8]

Siena, like most of the great cities in Italy, had long enjoyed a republican government, under the protection of the empire; but, being torn in pieces by the dissensions between the nobility and the people which divided all the Italian commonwealths, the faction of the people, which gained the ascendant, besought the emperor to become the guardian of the administration which they had established, and admitted into their city a small body of Spanish soldiers whom he had sent to countenance the execution of the laws and to preserve tranquillity among them. The command

from the journal of the Sieur de Salignac, who was present. Natal. Comit. Hist., 129.

[8] Thuan., lib. xi. 376.

of these troops was given to Mendoza, at that time ambassador for the emperor at Rome, who persuaded the credulous multitude that it was necessary, for their security against any future attempt of the nobles, to allow him to build a citadel in Siena; and, as he flattered himself that by means of this fortress he might render the emperor master of the city, he pushed on the works with all possible despatch. But he threw off the mask too soon. Before the fortifications were completed, he began to indulge his natural haughtiness and severity of temper and to treat the citizens with great insolence. At the same time the soldiers in garrison, being paid as irregularly as the emperor's troops usually were, lived almost at discretion upon the inhabitants, and were guilty of many acts of license and oppression.

These injuries awakened the Sienese to a sense of their danger. As they saw the necessity of exerting themselves while the unfinished fortifications of the citadel left them any hopes of success, they applied to the French ambassador at Rome, who readily promised them his master's protection and assistance. At the same time, forgetting their domestic animosities when such a mortal blow was aimed at the liberty and existence of the republic, they sent agents to the exiled nobles and invited them to concur with them in saving their country from the servitude with which it was threatened. As there was not a moment to lose, measures were concerted speedily, but with great prudence, and were executed with equal vigor. The citizens rose suddenly in arms; the exiles flocked into the town

from different parts with all their partisans and what troops they could draw together; and several bodies of mercenaries in the pay of France appeared to support them. The Spaniards, though surprised and much inferior in number, defended themselves with great courage; but, seeing no prospect of relief, and having no hopes of maintaining their station long in a half-finished fortress, they soon gave it up. The Sienese, with the utmost alacrity, levelled it with the ground, that no monument might remain of that odious structure which had been raised in order to enslave them. At the same time, renouncing all connection with the emperor, they sent ambassadors to thank the king of France as the restorer of their liberty, and to entreat that he would secure to them the perpetual enjoyment of that blessing by continuing his protection to their republic.[9]

To these misfortunes, one still more fatal had almost succeeded. The severe administration of Don Pedro de Toledo, viceroy of Naples, having filled that kingdom with murmuring and disaffection, the prince of Salerno, the head of the malecontents, had fled to the court of France, where all who bore ill will to the emperor or his ministers were sure of finding protection and assistance. That nobleman, in the usual style of exiles, boasting much of the number and power of his partisans and of his great influence with them, prevailed on Henry to think of invading Naples, from an expectation of being joined by all those

[9] Pecci, Mémoire de Siéna, vol. iii. pp. 230, 261.—Thuan., 375, 377, etc.—Paruta, Hist. Venet., 267.—Mém. de Ribier, 424, etc.

with whom the prince of Salerno held correspondence, or who were dissatisfied with Toledo's government. But, though the first hint of this enterprise was suggested by the prince of Salerno, Henry did not choose that its success should entirely depend upon his being able to fulfil the promises which he had made. He applied for aid to Solyman, whom he courted, after his father's example, as his most vigorous auxiliary against the emperor, and solicited him to second his operations by sending a powerful fleet into the Mediterranean. It was not difficult to obtain what he requested of the sultan, who at this time was highly incensed against the house of Austria on account of the proceedings in Hungary. He ordered a hundred and fifty ships to be equipped, that they might sail towards the coast of Naples, at whatever time Henry should name, and might co-operate with the French troops in their attempts upon that kingdom. The command of this fleet was given to the corsair Dragut, an officer trained up under Barbarossa, and scarcely inferior to his master in courage, in talents, or in good fortune. He appeared on the coast of Calabria at a time which had been agreed on, landed at several places, plundered and burnt several villages, and at last, casting anchor in the Bay of Naples, filled that city with consternation. But as the French fleet, detained by some accident which the contemporary historians have not explained, did not join the Turks according to concert, they, after waiting twenty days without hearing any tidings of it, set sail for Constantinople, and thus

delivered the viceroy of Naples from the terror of an invasion which he was not in a condition to have resisted.[10]

As the French had never given so severe a check to the emperor in any former campaign, they expressed immoderate joy at the success of their arms. Charles himself, accustomed to a long series of prosperity, felt the calamity most sensibly, and retired from Metz into the Low Countries, much dejected with the cruel reverse of fortune which affected him in his declining age, when the violence of the gout had increased to such a pitch as entirely broke the vigor of his constitution and rendered him peevish, difficult of access, and often incapable of applying to business. But whenever he enjoyed any interval of ease, all his thoughts were bent on revenge; and he deliberated with the greatest solicitude concerning the most proper means of annoying France, and of effacing the stain which had obscured the reputation and glory of his arms. All the schemes concerning Germany which had engrossed him so long being disconcerted by the peace of Passau, the affairs of the empire became only secondary objects of attention; and enmity to France was the predominant passion which chiefly occupied his mind.

The turbulent ambition of Albert of Brandenburg excited violent commotions, which disturbed the empire during this year. That prince's troops, having shared in the calamities of the siege of Metz, were greatly reduced in number. But the emperor, prompted by gratitude for his distin-

[10] Thuan., 375, 380.—Mém. de Ribier, ii. 403.—Giannone.

guished services on that occasion, or perhaps with a secret view of fomenting divisions among the princes of the empire, having paid up all the money due to him, he was enabled with that sum to hire so many of the soldiers dismissed from the imperial army that he was soon at the head of a body of men as numerous as ever. The bishops of Bamberg and Wurzburg having solicited the imperial chamber to annul by its authority the iniquitous conditions which Albert had compelled them to sign, that court unanimously found all their engagements with him to be void in their own nature, because they had been extorted by force, enjoined Albert to renounce all claim to the performance of them, and, if he should persist in such an unjust demand, exhorted all the princes of the empire to take arms against him as a disturber of the public tranquillity. To this decision Albert opposed the confirmation of his transactions with the two prelates, which the emperor had granted him as the reward of his having joined the imperial army at Metz; and in order to intimidate his antagonists, as well as to convince them of his resolution not to relinquish his pretensions, he put his troops in motion, that he might secure the territory in question. Various endeavors were employed, and many expedients proposed, in order to prevent the kindling of a new war in Germany. But, the same warmth of temper which rendered Albert turbulent and enterprising inspiring him with the most sanguine hopes of success even in his wildest undertakings, he disdainfully rejected all reasonable overtures of accommodation.

Upon this the imperial chamber issued its decree against him, and required the elector of Saxony, together with several other princes mentioned by name, to take arms in order to carry it into execution. Maurice and those associated with him were not unwilling to undertake this service. They were extremely solicitous to maintain public order by supporting the authority of the imperial chamber, and saw the necessity of giving a timely check to the usurpations of an ambitious prince who had no principle of action but regard to his own interest and no motive to direct him but the impulse of ungovernable passions. They had good reason to suspect that the emperor encouraged Albert in his extravagant and irregular proceedings, and secretly afforded him assistance, that by raising him up to rival Maurice in power he might in any future broil make use of his assistance to counterbalance and control the authority which the other had acquired in the empire.[11]

These considerations united the most powerful princes in Germany in a league against Albert, of which Maurice was declared generalissimo. This formidable confederacy, however, wrought no change in Albert's sentiments; but, as he knew that he could not resist so many princes if he should allow them time to assemble their forces, he endeavored by his activity to deprive them of all the advantages which they might derive from their united power and numbers, and for that reason marched directly against Maurice, the enemy

[11] Sleid., 585.—Mém. de Ribier, ii. 442.—Arnoldi Vita Maurit., ap. Menken, ii. 1242.

whom he dreaded most. It was happy for the allies that the conduct of their affairs was committed to a prince of such abilities. He, by his authority and example, had inspired them with vigor; and, having carried on their preparations with a degree of rapidity of which confederate bodies are seldom capable, he was in a condition to face Albert before he could make any considerable progress.

Their armies, which were nearly equal in number, each consisting of twenty-four thousand men, met at Sieverhausen, in the duchy of Lunenburg; and the violent animosity against each other which possessed the two leaders did not suffer them to continue long inactive. The troops, inflamed with the same hostile rage, marched fiercely to the combat; they fought with the greatest obstinacy; and, as both generals were capable of availing themselves of every favorable occurrence, the battle remained long doubtful, each gaining ground upon the other alternately. At last victory declared for Maurice, who was superior in cavalry, and Albert's army fled in confusion, leaving four thousand dead on the field, and their camp, baggage, and artillery in the hands of the conquerors. The allies bought their victory dear; their best troops suffered greatly; two sons of the duke of Brunswick, a duke of Lunenburg, and many other persons of distinction were among the number of the slain.[12] But

[12] Historia Pugnæ infelicis inter Maurit. et Albert. Thom. Wintzero auctore, apud Scard., ii. 559.—Sleid., 583.—Ruscelli, Epistres aux Princes, 154.—Arnoldi Vita Maurit., 1245.

all these were soon forgotten; for Maurice himself, as he led up to a second charge a body of horse which had been broken, received a wound with a pistol-bullet in the belly, of which he died two days after the battle, in the thirty-second year of his age, and in the sixth after his attaining the electoral dignity.

Of all the personages who have appeared in the history of this active age, when great occurrences and sudden revolutions called forth extraordinary talents to view and afforded them full opportunity to display themselves, Maurice may justly be considered as the most remarkable. If his exorbitant ambition, his profound dissimulation, and his unwarrantable usurpation of his kinsman's honors and dominions exclude him from being praised as a virtuous man, his prudence in concerting his measures, his vigor in executing them, and the uniform success with which they were attended entitle him to the appellation of a great prince. At an age when impetuosity of spirit commonly predominates over political wisdom, when the highest effort even of a genius of the first order is to fix on a bold scheme and to execute it with promptitude and courage, he formed and conducted an intricate plan of policy which deceived the most artful monarch in Europe. At the very juncture when the emperor had attained to almost unlimited despotism, Maurice, with power seemingly inadequate to such an undertaking, compelled him to relinquish all his usurpations, and established not only the religious but civil liberties of Germany on such foundations as have

hitherto remained unshaken. Although at one period of his life his conduct excited the jealousy of the Protestants, and at another drew on him the resentment of the Roman Catholics, such was his masterly address that he was the only prince of the age who in any degree possessed the confidence of both, and whom both lamented as the most able as well as faithful guardian of the constitution and laws of his country.

The consternation which Maurice's death occasioned among his troops prevented them from making the proper improvement of the victory which they had gained. Albert, whose active courage and profuse liberality rendered him the darling of such military adventurers as were little solicitous about the justice of his cause, soon reassembled his broken forces, and made fresh levies with such success that he was quickly at the head of fifteen thousand men, and renewed his depredations with additional fury. But Henry of Brunswick, having taken the command of the allied troops, defeated him in a second battle, scarcely less bloody than the former. Even then his courage did not sink, nor were his resources exhausted. He made several efforts, and some of them very vigorous, to retrieve his affairs; but, being laid under the ban of the empire by the imperial chamber, being driven by degrees out of all his hereditary territories, as well as those which he had usurped, being forsaken by many of his officers, and overpowered by the number of his enemies, he fled for refuge into France. After having been for a considerable time the terror and scourge of

Germany, he lingered out some years in an indigent and dependent state of exile, the miseries of which his restless and arrogant spirit endured with the most indignant impatience. Upon his death without issue, his territories, which had been seized by the princes who took arms against him, were restored, by a decree of the emperor, to his collateral heirs of the house of Brandenburg.[13] [1557].

Maurice having left only one daughter, who was afterwards married to William, prince of Orange, by whom she had a son who bore his grandfather's name and inherited the great talents for which he was conspicuous, a violent dispute arose concerning the succession to his honors and territories. John Frederic, the degraded elector, claimed the electoral dignity and that part of his patrimonial estate of which he had been violently stripped after the Smalkaldic war. Augustus, Maurice's only brother, pleaded his right not only to the hereditary possessions of their family but to the electoral dignity and to the territories which Maurice had acquired. As Augustus was a prince of considerable abilities, as well as of great candor and gentleness of manners, the states of Saxony, forgetting the merits and sufferings of their former master, declared warmly in his favor. His pretensions were powerfully supported by the king of Denmark, whose daughter he had married, and zealously espoused by the king of the Romans, out of regard to Maurice's memory. The degraded elector, though secretly

[13] Sleid., 592, 594, 599.—Struv., Corp. Hist. Germ., 1075.

favored by his ancient enemy the emperor, was at last obliged to relinquish his claim, upon obtaining a small addition to the territories which had been allotted to him, together with a stipulation securing to his family the eventual succession upon a failure of male heirs in the Albertine line. That unfortunate but magnanimous prince died next year, soon after ratifying this treaty of agreement; and the electoral dignity is still possessed by the descendants of Augustus.[14]

During these transactions in Germany, war was carried on in the Low Countries with considerable vigor. The emperor, impatient to efface the stain which his ignominious repulse at Metz left upon his military reputation, had an army early on the field, and laid siege to Terouenne. Though the town was of such importance that Francis used to call it one of the two pillars on which a king of France might sleep with security, the fortifications were in bad repair. Henry, trusting to what had happened at Metz, thought nothing more was necessary to render all the efforts of the enemy abortive than to reinforce the garrison with a considerable number of the young nobility. But D'Essé, a veteran officer who commanded them, being killed, and the imperialists pushing the siege with great vigor and perseverance, the place was taken by assault. That it might not fall again into the hands of the French, Charles ordered not only the fortifications but the town itself to be razed, and the inhabitants to be dispersed in the adjacent cities. Elated with this success, the imperialists

[14] Sleid., 587.—Thuan., 409.—Struv., Corp. Hist. Germ.

immediately invested Hesden, which, though defended with great bravery, was likewise taken by assault, and such of the garrison as escaped the sword were taken prisoners. The emperor intrusted the conduct of the siege to Emanuel Philibert of Savoy, prince of Piedmont, who on that occasion gave the first display of those great talents of military command which soon entitled him to be ranked among the first generals of the age, and facilitated his re-establishment in his hereditary dominions, the greater part of which, having been overrun by Francis in his expeditions into Italy, were still retained by Henry.[15]

The loss of these towns, together with so many persons of distinction, either killed or taken by the enemy, was no inconsiderable calamity to France, and Henry felt it very sensibly; but he was still more mortified at the emperor's having recovered his wonted superiority in the field so soon after the blow at Metz, which the French had represented as fatal to his power. He was ashamed, too, of his own remissness and excessive security at the opening of the campaign; and, in order to repair that error, he assembled a numerous army and led it into the Low Countries.

Roused at the approach of such a formidable enemy, Charles left Brussels, where he had been shut up so closely during seven months that it came to be believed in many parts of Europe that he was dead; and, though he was so much debilitated by the gout that he could hardly bear the motion of a litter, he hastened to join his army.

[15] Thuan., 411.—Haræi Annales Brabant., 669.

The eyes of all Europe were turned with expectation towards those mighty and exasperated rivals, between whom a decisive battle was now thought unavoidable. But Charles having prudently declined to hazard a general engagement, and the violence of the autumnal rains rendering it impossible for the French to undertake any siege, they retired, without having performed anything suitable to the great preparations which they had made.[16]

The imperial arms were not attended with the same success in Italy. The narrowness of the emperor's finances seldom allowed him to act with vigor in two different places at the same time; and, having exerted himself to the utmost in order to make a great effort in the Low Countries, his operations on the other side of the Alps were proportionably feeble. The viceroy of Naples, in conjunction with Cosmo de' Medici, who was greatly alarmed at the introduction of French troops into Siena, endeavored to become master of that city. But, instead of reducing the Sienese, the imperialists were obliged to retire abruptly, in order to defend their own country, upon the appearance of the Turkish fleet, which threatened the coast of Naples; and the French not only established themselves more firmly in Tuscany, but, by the assistance of the Turks, conquered a great part of the island of Corsica, subject at that time to the Genoese.[17]

The affairs of the house of Austria declined no less in Hungary during the course of this year. As the troops which Ferdinand kept in Transyl-

[16] Haræus, 672.—Thuan., 414. [17] Thuan., 417.

vania received their pay very irregularly, they lived almost at discretion upon the inhabitants; and their insolence and rapaciousness greatly disgusted all ranks of men, and alienated them from their new sovereign, who, instead of protecting, plundered his subjects. Their indignation at this, added to their desire of revenging Martinuzzi's death, wrought so much upon a turbulent nobility, impatient of injury, and upon a fierce people, prone to change, that they were ripe for a revolt. At that very juncture their late queen, Isabella, together with her son, appeared in Transylvania. Her ambitious mind could not bear the solitude and inactivity of a private life; and, repenting quickly of the cession which she had made of the crown in the year 1551, she left the place of her retreat, hoping that the dissatisfaction of the Hungarians with the Austrian government would prompt them once more to recognize her son's right to the crown. Some noblemen of great eminence declared immediately in his favor. The basha of Belgrade, by Solyman's order, espoused his cause, in opposition to Ferdinand; the Spanish and German soldiers, instead of advancing against the enemy, mutinied for want of pay, declaring that they would march back to Vienna; so that Castaldo, their general, was obliged to abandon Transylvania to Isabella and the Turks, and to place himself at the head of the mutineers, that by his authority he might restrain them from plundering the Austrian territories through which they passed.[18]

[18] Thuan., 430.

Ferdinand's attention was turned so entirely towards the affairs of Germany, and his treasures so much exhausted by his late efforts in Hungary, that he made no attempt to recover this valuable province, although a favorable opportunity for that purpose presented itself, as Solyman was then engaged in a war with Persia, and involved besides in domestic calamities which engrossed and disturbed his mind. Solyman, though distinguished by many accomplishments from the other Ottoman princes, had all the passions peculiar to that violent and haughty race. He was jealous of his authority, sudden as well as furious in his anger, and susceptible of all that rage and love which reigns in the East and often produces the wildest and most tragical effects. His favorite mistress was a Circassian slave of exquisite beauty, who bore him a son called Mustapha, whom, both on account of his birthright and his merit, he destined to be the heir of his crown. Roxalana, a Russian captive, soon supplanted the Circassian, and gained the sultan's heart. Having the address to retain the conquest which she had made, she kept possession of his love without any rival for many years, during which she brought him several sons and one daughter. All the happiness, however, which she derived from the unbounded sway that she had acquired over a monarch whom one-half of the world revered or dreaded, was embittered by perpetual reflections on Mustapha's accession to the throne, and the certain death of her sons, whom she foresaw would be immediately sacrificed, according to the barbarous jealousy of

Turkish policy, to the safety of the new emperor. By dwelling continually on this melancholy idea, she came gradually to view Mustapha as the enemy of her children, and to hate him with more than a stepmother's ill will. This prompted her to wish his destruction, in order to secure for one of her own sons the throne which was destined for him. Nor did she want either ambition to attempt such a high enterprise, or the arts requisite for carrying it into execution. Having prevailed on the sultan to give her only daughter in marriage to Rustan, the grand vizier, she disclosed her scheme to that crafty minister, who, perceiving that it was his own interest to co-operate with her, readily promised his assistance towards aggrandizing that branch of the royal line to which he was now so nearly allied.

As soon as Roxalana had concerted her measures with this able confidant, she began to affect a wonderful zeal for the Mahometan religion, to which Solyman was superstitiously attached, and proposed to found and endow a royal mosque, a work of great expense, but deemed by the Turks meritorious in the highest degree. The mufti, whom she consulted, approved much of her pious intention, but, having been gained and instructed by Rustan, told her that she, being a slave, could derive no benefit herself from that holy deed, for all the merit of it would accrue to Solyman, the master whose property she was. Upon this she seemed to be overwhelmed with sorrow, and to sink into the deepest melancholy, as if she had been disgusted with life and all its enjoyments.

Solyman, who was absent with the army, being informed of this dejection of mind and of the cause from which it proceeded, discovered all the solicitude of a lover to remove it, and, by a writing under his hand, declared her a free woman. Roxalana, having gained this point, proceeded to build the mosque, and reassumed her usual gayety of spirit. But when Solyman, on his return to Constantinople, sent a eunuch, according to the custom of the seraglio, to bring her to partake of his bed, she, seemingly with deep regret, but in the most peremptory manner, declined to follow the eunuch, declaring that what had been an honor to her while a slave became a crime as she was now a free woman, and that she would not involve either the sultan or herself in the guilt that must be contracted by such an open violation of the law of their prophet. Solyman, whose passion this difficulty, as well as the affected delicacy which gave rise to it, heightened and inflamed, had recourse immediately to the mufti for his direction. He replied, agreeably to the Koran, that Roxalana's scruples were well founded, but added artfully, in words which Rustan had taught him to use, that it was in the sultan's power to remove these difficulties, by espousing her as his lawful wife. The amorous monarch closed eagerly with the proposal, and solemnly married her, according to the form of the Mahometan ritual; though, by so doing, he disregarded a maxim of policy which the pride of the Ottoman blood had taught all the sultans since Bajazet I. to consider as inviolable. From his time none of the Turkish monarchs had

married, because, when he was vanquished and taken prisoner by Tamerlane, his wife had been abused with barbarous insolence by the Tartars. That no similar calamity might again subject the Ottoman family to the same disgrace, the sultans admitted none to their beds but slaves, whose dishonor could not bring any such stain upon their house.

But the more uncommon the step was, the more it convinced Roxalana of the unbounded influence which she had acquired over the sultan's heart, and emboldened her to prosecute, with greater hope of success, the scheme that she had formed in order to destroy Mustapha. This young prince, having been intrusted by his father, according to the practice of the sultans in that age, with the government of several different provinces, was at that time invested with the administration in Diarbequir, the ancient Mesopotamia, which Solyman had wrested from the Persians and added to his empire. In all these different commands, Mustapha had conducted himself with such cautious prudence as could give no offence to his father, though at the same time he governed with so much moderation as well as justice, and displayed such valor and generosity, as rendered him equally the favorite of the people and the darling of the soldiery.

There was no room to lay any folly or vice to his charge that could impair the high opinion which his father entertained of him. Roxalana's malevolence was more refined; she turned his virtues against him, and made use of these as engines

for his destruction. She often mentioned, in Solyman's presence, the splendid qualities of his son; she celebrated his courage, his liberality, his popular arts, with malicious and exaggerated praise. As soon as she perceived that the sultan heard these encomiums, which were often repeated, with uneasiness, that suspicion of his son began to mingle itself with his former esteem, and that by degrees he came to view him with jealousy and fear, she introduced, as by accident, some discourse concerning the rebellion of his father, Selim, against Bajazet, his grandfather: she took notice of the bravery of the veteran troops under Mustapha's command, and of the neighborhood of Diarbequir to the territories of the Persian sophi, Solyman's mortal enemy. By these arts, whatever remained of paternal tenderness was gradually extinguished, and such passions were kindled in the breast of the sultan as gave all Roxalana's malignant suggestions the color not only of probability but of truth. His suspicions and fear of Mustapha settled into deep-rooted hatred. He appointed spies to observe and report all his words and actions; he watched and stood on his guard against him, as his most dangerous enemy.

Having thus alienated the sultan's heart from Mustapha, Roxalana ventured upon another step. She entreated Solyman to allow her own sons the liberty of appearing at court, hoping that by gaining access to their father they might, by their good qualities and dutiful deportment, insinuate themselves into that place in his affections which Mustapha had formerly held; and, though what

she demanded was contrary to the practice of the Ottoman family in that age, the uxorious monarch granted her request. To all these female intrigues Rustan added an artifice still more subtle, which completed the sultan's delusion and heightened his jealousy and fear. He wrote to the bashas of the provinces adjacent to Diarbequir, instructing them to send him regular intelligence of Mustapha's proceedings in his government, and to each of them he gave a private hint, flowing in appearance from his zeal for their interest, that nothing would be more acceptable to the sultan than to receive favorable accounts of a son whom he destined to sustain the glory of the Ottoman name. The bashas, ignorant of his fraudulent intention, and eager to pay court to their sovereign at such an easy price, filled their letters with studied but fatal panegyrics of Mustapha, representing him as a prince worthy to succeed such an illustrious father, and as endowed with talents which might enable him to emulate, perhaps to equal, his fame. These letters were industriously shown to Soliman at the seasons when it was known that they would make the deepest impression. Every expression in recommendation of his son wounded him to the heart; he suspected his principal officers of being ready to favor the most desperate attempts of a prince whom they were so fond of praising; and, fancying that he saw them already assaulting his throne with rebellious arms, he determined, while it was yet in his power, to anticipate the blow, and to secure his own safety by his son's death.

For this purpose, though under pretence of renewing the war against Persia, he ordered Rustan to march towards Diarbequir at the head of a numerous army and to rid him of a son whose life he deemed inconsistent with his own safety. But that crafty minister did not choose to be loaded with the odium of having executed this cruel order. As soon as he arrived in Syria he wrote to Solyman that the danger was so imminent as called for his immediate presence; that the camp was full of Mustapha's emissaries; that many of the soldiers were corrupted; that the affections of all leaned towards him; that he had discovered a negotiation which had been carried on with the sophi of Persia in order to marry Mustapha with one of his daughters; that he already felt his own talents as well as authority to be inadequate to the exigencies of such an arduous conjuncture; that the sultan alone had sagacity to discern what resolution should be taken in those circumstances, and power to carry that resolution into execution.

This charge of courting the friendship of the sophi Roxalana and Rustan had reserved as the last and most envenomed of all their calumnies. It operated with the violence which they expected from Solyman's inveterate abhorrence of the Persians, and threw him into the wildest transports of rage. He set out instantly for Syria, and hastened thither with all the precipitation and impatience of fear and revenge. As soon as he joined his army near Aleppo and had concerted measures with Rustan, he sent a chiaus, or messenger of the court, to his son, requiring him to repair imme-

diately to his presence. Mustapha, though no stranger to his stepmother's machinations, or to Rustan's malice, or to his father's violent temper, yet, relying on his own innocence, and hoping to discredit the accusations of his enemies by the promptitude of his obedience, followed the messenger without delay to Aleppo. The moment he arrived in the camp, he was introduced into the sultan's tent. As he entered it, he observed nothing that could give him any alarm; no additional crowd of attendants, no body of armed guards, but the same order and silence which always reign in the sultan's apartments. In a few minutes, however, several mutes appeared, at the sight of whom Mustapha, knowing what was his doom, cried, with a loud voice, "Lo, my death!" and attempted to fly. The mutes rushed forward to seize him; he resisted and struggled, demanding with the utmost earnestness to see the sultan; and despair, together with the hope of finding protection from the soldiers if he could escape out of the tent, animated him with such extraordinary strength that for some time he baffled all the efforts of the executioners. Solyman was within hearing of his son's cries, as well as of the noise which the struggle occasioned. Impatient of this delay of his revenge, and struck with terror at the thoughts of Mustapha's escaping, he drew aside the curtain which divided the tent, and, thrusting in his head, darted a fierce look towards the mutes, and, with wild and threatening gestures, seemed to condemn their sloth and timidity. At sight of his father's furious and unrelenting countenance,

Mustapha's strength failed and his courage forsook him; the mutes fastened the bowstring about his neck, and in a moment put an end to his life.

The dead body was exposed before the sultan's tent. The soldiers gathered round it, and, contemplating that mournful object with astonishment and sorrow and indignation, were ready, if a leader had not been wanting, to have broke out into the wildest excesses of rage. After giving vent to the first expressions of their grief, they retired each man to his tent, and, shutting themselves up, bewailed in secret the cruel fate of their favorite; nor was there one of them who tasted food, or even water, during the remainder of that day. Next morning the same solitude and silence reigned in the camp; and Solyman, being afraid that some dreadful storm would follow this sullen calm, in order to appease the enraged soldiers, deprived Rustan of the seals, ordered him to leave the camp, and raised Achmet, a gallant officer, much beloved in the army, to the dignity of vizier. This change, however, was made in concert with Rustan himself, that crafty minister suggesting it as the only expedient which could save himself or his master. But within a few months, when the resentment of the soldiers began to subside, and the name of Mustapha to be forgotten, Achmet was strangled by the sultan's command, and Rustan reinstated in the office of vizier. Together with his former power, he reassumed the plan for exterminating the race of Mustapha which he had concerted with Roxalana; and, as they were afraid that an only son whom Mustapha had left

might grow up to avenge his death, they redoubled their activity, and, by employing the same arts against him which they had practised against his father, they inspired Solyman with the same fears, and prevailed on him to issue orders for putting to death that young, innocent prince. These orders were executed with barbarous zeal by a eunuch, who was despatched to Burso, the place where the prince resided; and no rival was left to dispute the Ottoman throne with the sons of Roxalana.[19]

Such tragical scenes, productive of so deep distress, seldom occur but in the history of the great monarchies of the East, where the warmth of the climate seems to give every motion of the heart its greatest force, and the absolute power of sovereigns accustoms and enables them to gratify all their passions without control. While this interesting transaction in the court of Solyman engaged his whole attention, Charles was pursuing, with the utmost ardor, a new scheme for aggrandizing his family. About this time Edward VI. of England, after a short reign, in which he displayed such virtues as filled his subjects with sanguine hopes of being happy under his government and made them bear with patience all that they suffered from the weakness, the dissensions, and the ambition of the ministers who assumed the administration during his minority, was seized with a lingering distemper, which threatened his life. The emperor no sooner received an account

[19] Augerii Gislenii Busbequii Legationis Turcicæ Epistolæ IV., Franc., 1615, p. 37.—Thuan., lib. xii. p. 432.—Mém. de Ribier, ii. 457.—Mauroceni, Histor. Veneta, lib. vii. p. 60.

of this than his ambition, always attentive to seize every opportunity of acquiring an increase of power or of territories to his son, suggested the thought of adding England to his other kingdoms, by the marriage of Philip with the Princess Mary, the heir of Edward's crown. Being apprehensive, however, that his son, who was then in Spain, might decline a match with a princess in her thirty-eighth year and eleven years older than himself,[20] Charles determined, notwithstanding his own age and infirmities, to make offer of himself as a husband to his cousin.

But, though Mary was so far advanced in years, and destitute of every charm either of person or manners that could win affection or command esteem, Philip without hesitation gave his consent to the proposed match by his father, and was willing, according to the usual maxim of princes, to sacrifice his inclination to his ambition. In order to secure the success of his scheme, the emperor, even before Edward's death, began to take such steps as might facilitate it. Upon Edward's demise, Mary mounted the throne of England; the pretensions of the Lady Jane Gray proving as unfortunate as they were ill founded.[21] Charles sent immediately a pompous embassy to London to congratulate Mary on her accession to the throne and to propose the alliance with his son. The queen, dazzled with the prospect of marrying the heir of the greatest monarch in Europe, fond of uniting more closely with her mother's family,

[20] Pallav., Hist. Concil. Trid., v. ii. c. 13, p. 150.
[21] Carte's Hist. of England, iii. 287.

to which she had been always warmly attached, and eager to secure the powerful aid which she knew would be necessary towards carrying on her favorite scheme of re-establishing the Romish religion in England, listened in the most favorable manner to the proposal. Among her subjects it met with a very different reception. Philip, it was well known, contended for all the tenets of the Church of Rome with a sanguinary zeal which exceeded the measure even of Spanish bigotry: this alarmed all the numerous partisans of the Reformation. The Castilian haughtiness and reserve were far from being acceptable to the English, who, having several times seen their throne occupied by persons who were born subjects, had become accustomed to an unceremonious and familiar intercourse with their sovereigns. They could not think without the utmost uneasiness of admitting a foreign prince to that influence in their councils which the husband of their queen would naturally possess. They dreaded both from Philip's overbearing temper and from the maxims of the Spanish monarchy which he had imbibed, that he would infuse ideas into the queen's mind dangerous to the liberties of the nation, and would introduce foreign troops and money into the kingdom to assist her in any attempt against them.

Full of these apprehensions, the House of Commons, though in that age extremely obsequious to the will of their monarchs, presented a warm address against the Spanish match; many pamphlets were published, representing the dangerous

consequences of the alliance with Spain, and describing Philip's bigotry and arrogance in the most odious colors. But Mary, inflexible in all her resolutions, paid no regard to the remonstrances of her commons or to the sentiments of the people. The emperor having secured, by various arts, the ministers whom she trusted most, they approved warmly of the match, and large sums were remitted by him in order to gain the rest of the council. Cardinal Pole, whom the pope, immediately upon Mary's accession, had despatched as his legate into England, in order to reconcile his native country to the see of Rome, was detained, by the emperor's command, at Dillinghen, in Germany, lest by his presence he should thwart Philip's pretensions and employ his interest in favor of his kinsman, Courtnay, earl of Devonshire, whom the English ardently wished their sovereign to choose for a husband.[22]

As the negotiation did not admit of delay, it was carried forward with the greatest rapidity, the emperor agreeing without hesitation to every article in favor of England which Mary's ministers either represented as necessary to soothe the people and reconcile them to the match, or that was suggested by their own fears and jealousy of a foreign master. The chief articles were, that Philip, during his marriage with the queen, should bear the title of king of England, but the entire administration of affairs, as well as the sole disposal of all revenues, offices, and benefices, should remain with the queen; that the heirs of the mar-

[22] Carte, iii. 288.

riage should, together with the crown of England, inherit the duchy of Burgundy and the Low Countries; that if Prince Charles, Philip's only son by a former marriage, should die without issue, his children by the queen, whether male or female, should succeed to the crown of Spain and all the emperor's hereditary dominions; that before the consummation of the marriage Philip should swear solemnly that he would retain no domestic who was not a subject of the queen, and would bring no foreigners into the kingdom that he might give umbrage to the English; that he would make no alteration in the constitution or laws of England; that he would not carry the queen, or any of the children born of this marriage, out of the kingdom; that if the queen should die before him without issue, he would immediately leave the crown to the lawful heir, without claiming any right of administration whatever; that in consequence of this marriage England should not be engaged in any war subsisting between France and Spain; and that the alliance between France and England should remain in full force.[23]

But this treaty, though both the emperor and Mary's ministers employed their utmost address in framing it so as to please the English, was far from quieting their fears and jealousies. They saw that words and promises were a feeble security against the encroachments of an ambitious prince, who, as soon as he got possession of the power and advantages which the queen's husband

[23] Rymer's Fœd., vol. xv. 377, 393.—Mém. de Ribier, ii. 498.

must necessarily enjoy, could easily evade any of the articles which either limited his authority or obstructed his schemes. They were convinced that the more favorable the conditions of the present treaty were to England, the more Philip would be tempted to violate them. They dreaded that England, like Naples, Milan, and the other countries annexed to Spain, would soon feel the dominion of that crown to be intolerably oppressive, and be constrained, as they had been, to waste its wealth and vigor in wars wherein it had no interest and from which it could derive no advantage. These sentiments prevailed so generally that every part of the kingdom was filled with discontent at the match and with indignation against the advisers of it. Sir Thomas Wyat, a gentleman of some note, and of good intentions towards the public, took advantage of this, and roused the inhabitants of Kent to arms, in order to save their country from a foreign yoke. Great numbers resorted, in a short time, to his standard; he marched to London with such rapidity, and the queen was so utterly unprovided for defence, that the aspect of affairs was extremely threatening; and if any nobleman of distinction had joined the malecontents, or had Wyat possessed talents equal in any degree to the boldness of his enterprise, the insurrection must have proved fatal to Mary's power. But all Wyat's measures were concerted with so little prudence and executed with such irresolution that many of his followers forsook him; the rest were dispersed by a handful of soldiers, and he himself was taken prisoner, without having made

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any effort worthy of the cause that he had undertaken or suitable to the ardor with which he engaged in it. He suffered the punishment due to his rashness and rebellion. The queen's authority was confirmed and increased by her success in defeating this inconsiderate attempt to abridge it. The Lady Jane Gray, whose title the ambition of her relations had set up in opposition to that of the queen, was, notwithstanding her youth and innocence, brought to the scaffold. The Lady Elizabeth, the queen's sister, was observed with the most jealous attention. The treaty of marriage was ratified by the parliament.

Philip landed in England with a magnificent retinue, celebrated his nuptials with great solemnity; and, though he could not lay aside his natural severity and pride, or assume gracious and popular manners, he endeavored to conciliate the favor of the English nobility by his extraordinary liberality. Lest that should fail of acquiring him such influence in the government of the kingdom as he aimed at obtaining, the emperor kept a body of twelve thousand men on the coast of Flanders, in readiness to embark for England and to support his son in all his enterprises.

Emboldened by all these favorable circumstances, Mary pursued the scheme of extirpating the Protestant religion out of her dominions, with the most precipitant zeal. The laws of Edward VI. in favor of the Reformation were repealed; the Protestant clergy ejected; all the forms and rites of the popish worship were re-established; the nation was solemnly absolved from the guilt

which it had contracted during the period of its apostasy, and was publicly reconciled to the Church of Rome by Cardinal Pole, who, immediately after the queen's marriage, was permitted to continue his journey to England and to exercise his legatine functions with the most ample power. Not satisfied with having overturned the Protestant Church, and re-establishing the ancient system on its ruins, Mary insisted that all her subjects should conform to the same mode of worship which she preferred, should profess their faith in the same creed which she had approved, and abjure every practice or opinion that was deemed repugnant to either of them. Powers altogether unknown in the English constitution were vested in certain persons appointed to take cognizance of heresy, and they proceeded to exercise them with more than inquisitorial severity. The prospect of danger, however, did not intimidate the principal teachers of the Protestant doctrines, who believed that they were contending for truths of the utmost consequence to the happiness of mankind. They boldly avowed their sentiments, and were condemned to that cruel death which the Church of Rome reserved for its enemies. This shocking punishment was inflicted with that barbarity which the rancor of false zeal alone can inspire. The English, who are inferior in humanity to no people in Europe, and remarkable for the mildness of their public executions, beheld with astonishment and horror persons who had filled the most respectable stations in the Church, and who were venerable on account of their age, their piety, and

their literature, condemned to endure torments to which their laws did not subject even the most atrocious criminals.

This extreme rigor did not accomplish the end at which Mary aimed. The patience and fortitude with which these martyrs for the Reformation submitted to their sufferings, the heroic contempt of death expressed by persons of every rank and age and sex, confirmed many more in the Protestant faith than the threats of their enraged prosecutors could frighten into apostasy. The business of such as were intrusted with trying heretics multiplied continually, and appeared to be as endless as it was odious. The queen's ablest ministers became sensible how impolitic, as well as dangerous, it was to irritate the people by the frequent spectacle of public executions, which they detested as no less unjust than cruel. Even Philip was so thoroughly convinced of her having run to an excess of rigor that on this occasion he assumed a part to which he was little accustomed, becoming an advocate for moderation and lenity.[24]

But, notwithstanding this attempt to ingratiate himself with the English, they discovered a constant jealousy and distrust of all his intentions; and when some members, who had been gained by the court, ventured to move in the House of Commons that the nation ought to assist the emperor, the queen's father-in-law, in his war against France, the proposal was rejected with general dissatisfaction. A motion which was made, that

[24] Godwin's Annals of Queen Mary, ap. Kennet, vol. ii. p. 329.—Burnet's Hist. of Reform., ii. 298, 305.

the parliament should give its consent that Philip might be publicly crowned as the queen's husband, met with such a cold reception that it was instantly withdrawn.[25]

The king of France had observed the progress of the emperor's negotiation in England with much uneasiness. The great accession of territories as well as reputation which his enemy would acquire by the marriage of his son with the queen of such a powerful kingdom was obvious and formidable. He easily foresaw that the English, notwithstanding all their fears and precautions, would soon be drawn in to take part in the quarrels on the Continent, and be compelled to act in subserviency to the emperor's ambitious schemes. For this reason, Henry had given it in charge to his ambassador at the court of London to employ all his address in order to defeat or retard the treaty of marriage; and, as there was not at that time any prince of the blood in France whom he could propose to the queen as a husband, he instructed him to co-operate with such of the English as wished their sovereign to marry one of her own subjects. But, the queen's ardor and precipitation in closing with the first overtures in favor of Philip having rendered all his endeavors ineffectual, Henry was so far from thinking it prudent to give any aid to the English malecontents, though earnestly solicited by Wyat and their other leaders, who tempted him to take him under his protection, by offers of great advantage to France, that he commanded his ambassador to con-

[25] Carte's Hist. of England, iii. 314.

gratulate the queen in the warmest terms upon the suppression of the insurrection.

Notwithstanding these external professions, Henry dreaded so much the consequence of this alliance, which more than compensated for all the emperor had lost in Germany, that he determined to carry on his military operations, both in the Low Countries and in Italy, with extraordinary vigor, in order that he might compel Charles to accept of an equitable peace before his daughter-in-law could surmount the aversion of her subjects to a war on the Continent and prevail on them to assist the emperor either with money or troops. For this purpose, he exerted himself to the utmost in order to have a numerous army each assembled on the frontiers of the Netherlands, and, while one part of it laid waste the open country of Artois, the main body, under the Constable Montmorency, advanced towards the provinces of Liege and Hainault by the forest of Ardennes.

The campaign was opened with the siege of Mariemburg, a town which the queen of Hungary, the governess of the Low Countries, had fortified at great expense; but, being destitute of a sufficient garrison, it surrendered in six days. Henry, elated with this success, put himself at the head of his army, and, investing Bouvines, took it by assault, after a short resistance. With equal facility he became master of Dinant, and then, turning to the left, bent his march towards the province of Artois. The large sums which the emperor had remitted into England had so exhausted his treasury as to render his preparations

at this juncture slower and more dilatory than usual. He had no body of troops to make head against the French at their first entrance into his territories; and though he drew together all the forces in the country in the utmost hurry, and gave the command of them to Emanuel Philibert of Savoy, they were in no condition to face an enemy so far superior in number. The prince of Savoy, however, by his activity and good conduct made up for his want of troops. By watching all the motions of the French at a distance, and by choosing his own posts with skill, he put it out of their power either to form any siege of consequence or to attack him. Want of subsistence soon obliged them to fall back towards their own frontiers, after having burnt all the open towns, and having plundered the country through which they marched with a cruelty and license more becoming a body of light troops than a royal army led by a great monarch.

But Henry, that he might not dismiss his army without attempting some conquest adequate to the great preparations as well as sanguine hopes with which he had opened the campaign, invested Renti, a place deemed in that age of great importance, as by its situation on the confines of Artois and the Boulonnois it covered the former province and protected the parties which made incursions into the latter. The town, which was strongly fortified and provided with a numerous garrison, made a gallant defence; but, being warmly pressed by a powerful army, it must soon have yielded. The emperor, who at that time enjoyed a short interval

of ease from the gout, was so solicitous to save it that, although he could bear no other motion but that of a litter, he instantly put himself at the head of his army, which, having received several reinforcements, was now strong enough to approach the enemy. The French were eager to decide the fate of Renti by a battle, and expected it from the emperor's arrival in his camp; but Charles avoided a general action with great industry, and, as he had nothing in view but to save the town, he hoped to accomplish that without exposing himself to the consequences of such a dangerous and doubtful event.

Notwithstanding all his precautions, a dispute about a post which both armies endeavored to seize brought on an engagement which proved almost general. The duke of Guise, who commanded the wing of the French which stood the brunt of the combat, displayed valor and conduct worthy of the defender of Metz; the imperialists, after an obstinate struggle, were repulsed; the French remained masters of the post in dispute; and if the constable, either from his natural caution and slowness, or from unwillingness to support a rival whom he hated, had not delayed bringing up the main body to second the impression which Guise had made, the rout of the enemy must have been complete. The emperor, notwithstanding the loss which he had sustained, continued in the same camp; and the French, being straitened for provisions, and finding it impossible to carry on the siege in the face of a hostile army, quitted their intrenchments. They retired openly, court-

ing the enemy to approach, rather than shunning an engagement.

But Charles, having gained his end, suffered them to march off unmolested. As soon as his troops entered their own country, Henry threw garrisons into the frontier towns, and dismissed the rest of the army. This encouraged the imperialists to push forward with a considerable body of troops into Picardy, and by laying waste the country with fire and sword they endeavored to revenge themselves for the ravages which the French had committed in Hainault and Artois.[26] But, as they were not able to reduce any place of importance, they gained nothing more than the enemy had done by this cruel and inglorious method of carrying on the war.

The arms of France were still more unsuccessful in Italy. The footing which the French had acquired in Siena occasioned much uneasiness to Cosmo de' Medici, the most sagacious and enterprising of all the Italian princes. He dreaded the neighborhood of a powerful people, to whom all who favored the ancient republican government in Florence would have recourse, as to their natural protectors, against that absolute authority which the emperor had enabled him to usurp; he knew how odious he was to the French, on account of his attachment to the imperial party, and he foresaw that if they were permitted to gather strength in Siena, Tuscany would soon feel the effects of their resentment. For these reasons, he wished with the utmost solicitude for the expulsion of the

[26] Thuan., 460, etc.—Haræi Ann. Brab., 674.

French out of the Sienese before they had time to establish themselves thoroughly in the country or to receive such reinforcements from France as would render it dangerous to attack them. As this, however, was properly the emperor's business, who was called by his interest as well as honor to dislodge those formidable intruders into the heart of his dominions, Cosmo labored to throw the whole burden of the enterprise on him, and on that account had given no assistance, during the former campaign, but by advancing some small sums of money towards the payment of the imperial troops.

But, as the defence of the Netherlands engrossed all the emperor's attention, and his remittances into England had drained his treasury, it was obvious that his operations in Italy would be extremely feeble; and Cosmo plainly perceived that if he himself did not take part openly in the war, and act with vigor, the French would scarcely meet with any annoyance. As his situation rendered this resolution necessary and unavoidable, his next care was to execute it in such a manner that he might derive from it some other advantage besides that of driving the French out of his neighborhood. With this view, he despatched an envoy to Charles, offering to declare war against France, and to reduce Siena at his own charges, on condition that he should be repaid whatever he might expend in the enterprise, and be permitted to retain all his conquests until his demands were fully satisfied. Charles, to whom at this juncture the war against Siena was an intolerable burden,

and who had neither expedient nor resource that could enable him to carry it on with proper vigor, closed gladly with this overture; and Cosmo, well acquainted with the low state of the imperial finances, flattered himself that the emperor, finding it impossible to reimburse him, would suffer him to keep quiet possession of whatever places he should conquer.[27]

Full of these hopes, he made great preparations for war, and, as the French king had turned the strength of his arms against the Netherlands, he did not despair of assembling such a body of men as would prove more than a sufficient match for any force which Henry could bring into the field in Italy. He endeavored, by giving one of his daughters to the pope's nephew, to obtain assistance from the holy see, or at least to secure his remaining neutral. He attempted to detach the duke of Orsini, whose family had been long attached to the French party, from his ancient confederates, by bestowing on him another of his daughters; and, what was of greater consequence than either of these, he engaged John James Medecino, marquis of Marignano, to take the command of his army.[28] This officer, from a very low condition in life, had raised himself, through all the ranks of service, to high command, and had displayed talents and acquired reputation in war which entitled him to be placed on a level with the greatest generals in that martial age. Having attained a station of eminence so disproportionate

[27] Adriani, Istoria, de' suoi Tempi, vol. i. p. 662.
[28] Ibid., p. 663.

to his birth, he labored, with a fond solicitude, to conceal his original obscurity, by giving out that he was descended of the family of Medici, to which honor the casual resemblance of his name was his only pretension. Cosmo, happy that he could gratify him at such an easy rate, flattered his vanity in this point, acknowledged him as a relation, and permitted him to assume the arms of his family. Medecino, eager to serve the head of that family of which he now considered himself as a branch, applied with wonderful zeal and assiduity to raise troops; and as, during his long service, he had acquired great credit with the leaders of those mercenary bands which formed the strength of Italian armies, he engaged the most eminent of them to follow Cosmo's standard.

To oppose this able general and the formidable army which he had assembled, the king of France made choice of Peter Strozzi, a Florentine nobleman, who had resided long in France as an exile, and who had risen by his merit to high reputation as well as command in the army. He was the son of Philip Strozzi, who in the year 1537 had concurred with such ardor in the attempt to expel the family of Medici out of Florence, in order to reestablish the ancient republican form of government, and who had perished in the undertaking. The son inherited the implacable aversion to the Medici, as well as the same enthusiastic zeal for the liberty of Florence, which had animated his father, whose death he was impatient to revenge. Henry flattered himself that his army would make

rapid progress under a general whose zeal to promote his interest was roused and seconded by such powerful passions, especially as he had allotted him for the scene of action his native country, in which he had many powerful partisans, ready to facilitate all his operation.

But how specious soever the motives might appear which induced Henry to make this choice, it proved fatal to the interests of France in Italy. Cosmo, as soon as he heard that the mortal enemy of his family was appointed to take the command in Tuscany, concluded that the king of France aimed at something more than the protection of the Sienese, and saw the necessity of making extraordinary efforts not merely to reduce Siena but to save himself from destruction.[29] At the same time, the cardinal of Ferrara, who had the entire direction of the French affairs in Italy, considered Strozzi as a formidable rival in power, and, in order to prevent his acquiring any increase of authority from success, he was extremely remiss in supplying him either with money to pay his troops or with provisions to support them. Strozzi himself, blinded by his resentment against the Medici, pushed on his operations with the impetuosity of revenge, rather than with the caution and prudence becoming a great general.

At first, however, he attacked several towns in the territory of Florence with such vigor as obliged Medecino, in order to check his progress, to withdraw the greater part of his army from Siena, which he had invested before Strozzi's

[29] Pecci, Memorie di Siena, vol. iv. p. 103, etc.

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[29] Pieri, Storia di Siena, vol. ii. p. 103, etc.

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arrival in Italy. As Cosmo sustained the whole burden of military operations, the expense of which must soon have exhausted his revenues, as neither the viceroy of Naples nor governor of Milan was in condition to afford him any effectual aid, and as the troops which Medecino had left in the camp before Siena could attempt nothing against it during his absence, it was Strozzi's business to have protracted the war and to have transferred the seat of it into the territories of Florence; but the hope of ruining his enemy by one decisive blow precipitated him into a general engagement, not far from Marciano. The armies were nearly equal in number; but a body of Italian cavalry, in which Strozzi placed great confidence, having fled without making any resistance, either through the treachery or cowardice of the officers who commanded it, his infantry remained exposed to the attacks of all Medecino's troops. Encouraged, however, by Strozzi's presence and example, who, after receiving a dangerous wound in endeavoring to rally the cavalry, placed himself at the head of the infantry, and manifested an admirable presence of mind, as well as extraordinary valor, they stood their ground with great firmness, and repulsed such of the enemy as ventured to approach them. But those gallant troops being surrounded at last on every side, and torn in pieces by a battery of cannon which Medecino brought to bear upon them, the Florentine cavalry broke in on their flanks, and a general rout ensued. Strozzi, faint with the loss of blood, and deeply affected with the fatal consequences of

his own rashness, found the utmost difficulty in making his escape with a handful of men.[30]

Medecino returned immediately to the siege of Siena with his victorious forces, and, as Strozzi could not, after the greatest efforts of activity, collect as many men as to form the appearance of a regular army, he had leisure to carry on his approaches against the town without molestation. But the Sienese, instead of sinking into despair upon this cruel disappointment of their only hope of obtaining relief, prepared to defend themselves to the utmost extremity, with that undaunted fortitude which the love of liberty alone can inspire. This generous resolution was warmly seconded by Monluc, who commanded the French garrison in the town. The active and enterprising courage which he had displayed on many occasions had procured him this command; and, as he had ambition which aspired at the highest military dignities, without any pretensions to attain them but what he could derive from merit, he determined to distinguish his defence of Siena by extraordinary efforts of valor and perseverance. For this purpose, he repaired and strengthened the fortifications with unwearied industry; he trained the citizens to the use of arms, and accustomed them to go through the fatigues and dangers of service in common with the soldiers; and, as the enemy were extremely strict in guarding all the avenues to the city, he husbanded the provisions in the magazines with the most parsimonious economy, and prevailed on the soldiers, as well as the citizens, to

[30] Pecci, Memorie di Siena, vol. iv. p. 157.

restrict themselves to a very moderate daily allowance for their subsistence. Medecino, though his army was not numerous enough to storm the town by open force, ventured twice to assault it by surprise; but he was received each time with so much spirit and repulsed with such loss as discouraged him from repeating the attempt and left him no hopes of reducing the town but by famine.

With this view, he fortified his own camp with great care, occupied all the posts of strength round the place, and, having entirely cut off the besieged from any communication with the adjacent country, he waited patiently until necessity should compel them to open their gates. But their enthusiastic zeal for liberty made the citizens despise the distresses occasioned by the scarcity of provisions, and supported them long under all the miseries of famine. Monluc, by his example and exhortations, taught his soldiers to vie with them in patience and abstinence; and it was not until they had withstood a siege of ten months, until they had eaten up all the horses, dogs, and other animals in the place, and were reduced almost to their last morsel of bread, that they proposed a capitulation. Even then they demanded honorable terms; and as Cosmo, though no stranger to the extremity of their condition, was afraid that despair might prompt them to venture upon some wild enterprise, he immediately granted them conditions more favorable than they could have expected.

The capitulation was made in the emperor's name, who engaged to take the republic of Siena

under the protection of the empire; he promised to maintain the ancient liberties of the city, to allow the magistrates the full exercise of their former authority, to secure the citizens in the undisturbed possession of their privileges and property; he granted an ample and unlimited pardon to all who had borne arms against him; he reserved to himself the right of placing a garrison in the town, but engaged not to rebuild the citadel without the consent of the citizens. Monluc and his French garrison were allowed to march out with all the honors of war.

Medecino observed the articles of capitulation, as far as depended on him, with great exactness. No violence or insult whatever was offered to the inhabitants, and the French garrison was treated with all the respect due to their spirit and bravery. But many of the citizens, suspecting, from the extraordinary facility with which they had obtained such favorable conditions, that the emperor, as well as Cosmo, would take the first opportunity of violating them, and disdaining to possess a precarious liberty which depended on the will of another, abandoned the place of their nativity, and accompanied the French to Monte-Alcino, Porto Ercole, and other small towns in the territory of the republic. They established in Monte-Alcino the same model of government to which they had been accustomed at Siena, and, appointing magistrates with the same titles and jurisdiction, solaced themselves with this image of their ancient liberty.

The fears of the Sienese concerning the fate of

their country were not imaginary, or their suspicion of the emperor and Cosmo ill founded; for no sooner had the imperial troops taken possession of the town than Cosmo, without regarding the articles of capitulation, not only displaced the magistrates who were in office, and nominated new ones devoted to his own interest, but commanded all the citizens to deliver up their arms to persons whom he appointed to receive them. They submitted to the former from necessity, though with all the reluctance and regret which men accustomed to liberty feel in obeying the first commands of a master. They did not yield the same tame obedience to the latter; and many persons of distinction, rather than degrade themselves from the rank of freemen to the condition of slaves, by surrendering their arms, fled to their countrymen at Monte-Alcino, and chose to endure all the hardships and encounter all the dangers which they had reason to expect in that new station where they had fixed the seat of their republic.

Cosmo, not reckoning himself secure while such numbers of implacable and desperate enemies were settled in his neighborhood and retained any degree of power, solicited Medecino to attack them in their different places of retreat, before they had time to recruit their strength and spirits after the many calamities which they had suffered. He prevailed on him, though his army was much weakened by hard duty during the siege of Siena, to invest Porto Ercole; and, the fortifications being both slight and incomplete, the besieged

were soon compelled to open their gates. An unexpected order, which Medecino received from the emperor, to detach the greater part of his troops into Piedmont, prevented further operations, and permitted the Sienese exiles to reside for some time undisturbed in Monte-Alcino. But their unhappy countrymen who remained at Siena were not yet at the end of their sufferings; for the emperor, instead of adhering to the articles of capitulation, granted his son Philip the investiture of that city and all its dependencies; and Francis de Toledo, in the name of their new master, proceeded to settle the civil and military government, treated them like a conquered people, and subjected them to the Spanish yoke, without paying any regard whatever to their privileges or ancient form of government.[31]

The imperial army in Piedmont had been so feeble for some time, and its commander so inactive, that the emperor, in order to give vigor to his operations in that quarter, found it necessary not only to recall Medecino's troops from Tuscany while in the career of conquest, but to employ in Piedmont a general of such reputation and abilities as might counterbalance the great military talents of the maréchal Brissac, who was at the head of the French forces in that country.

He pitched on the duke of Alva for that purpose; but that choice was as much the effect of a court intrigue as of his opinion with respect to the

[31] Sleid., 617.—Thuan., lib. xv. 526, 537.—Joan. Camerarii Adnot. Rer. præcipuarum ab anno 1550 ad 1561, ap. Freherum, vol. iii. p. 564.—Pecci, Memorie di Siena, iv. 64, etc.

duke's merit. Alva had long made court to Philip with the utmost assiduity, and had endeavored to work himself into his confidence by all the insinuating arts of which his haughty and inflexible nature was capable. As he nearly resembled that prince in many features of his character, he began to gain much of his good will. Ruy Gomez de Silva, Philip's favorite, who dreaded the progress which this formidable rival made in his master's affections, had the address to prevail with the emperor to name Alva to this command. The duke, though sensible that he owed this distinction to the malicious arts of an enemy, who had no other aim than to remove him at a distance from court, was of such punctilious honor that he would not decline a command that appeared dangerous and difficult, but, at the same time, was so haughty that he would not accept of it but on his own terms, insisting on being appointed the emperor's vicar-general in Italy, with the supreme military command in all the imperial and Spanish territories in that country. Charles granted all his demands; and he took possession of his new dignity with almost unlimited authority.

His first operations, however, were neither proportioned to his former reputation and the extensive powers with which he was invested, nor did they come up to the emperor's expectations. Brissac had under his command an army which, though inferior in number to the imperialists, was composed of chosen troops, which, having grown old in service in that country, where every town was fortified and every castle capable of being

defended, were perfectly acquainted with the manner of carrying on war there. By their valor, and his own good conduct, Brissac not only defeated all the attempts of the imperialists, but added new conquests to the territories of which he was formerly master. Alva, after having boasted, with his usual arrogance, that he would drive the French out of Piedmont in a few weeks, was obliged to retire into winter-quarters, with the mortification of being unable to preserve entire that part of the country of which the emperor had hitherto kept possession.[32]

As the operations of this campaign in Piedmont were indecisive, those in the Netherlands were inconsiderable, neither the emperor nor king of France being able to bring into the field an army strong enough to undertake any enterprise of moment. But what Charles wanted in force he endeavored to supply by a bold stratagem, the success of which would have been equal to that of the most vigorous campaign. During the siege of Metz, Leonard, father guardian of a convent of Franciscans in that city, had insinuated himself far into the esteem and favor of the duke of Guise, by his attachment to the French. Being a man of an active and intriguing spirit, he had been extremely useful both in animating the inhabitants to sustain with patience all the hardships of the siege, and in procuring intelligence of the enemy's designs and motions. The merit of those important services, together with the warm recommendations of the duke of Guise, secured him

[32] Thuan., lib. xv. 529.—Guichenon, Hist. de Savoie, tom. i. 670.

such high confidence with Vielleville, who was appointed governor of Metz when Guise left the town, that he was permitted to converse or correspond with whatever persons he thought fit, and nothing that he did created any suspicion. This monk, from the levity natural to bold and projecting adventurers, or from resentment against the French, who had not bestowed on him such rewards as he thought due to his own merit, or tempted, by the unlimited confidence which was placed in him, to imagine that he might carry on and accomplish any scheme with perfect security, formed a design of betraying Metz to the imperialists.

He communicated his intentions to the queen-dowager of Hungary, who governed the Low Countries in the name of her brother. She, approving, without any scruple, any act of treachery from which the emperor might derive such signal advantage, assisted the father guardian in concerting the most proper plan for insuring its success. They agreed that the father guardian should endeavor to gain his monks to concur in promoting the design; that he should introduce into the convent a certain number of chosen soldiers, disguised in the habit of friars; that, when everything was ripe for execution, the governor of Thionville should march towards Metz in the night with a considerable body of troops, and attempt to scale the ramparts; that while the garrison was employed in resisting the assailants, the monks should set fire to the town in different places; that the soldiers who lay concealed should

sally out of the convent and attack those who defended the ramparts in the rear. Amidst the universal terror and confusion which events so unexpected would occasion, it was not doubted but that the imperialists might become masters of the town. As a recompense for this service, the father guardian stipulated that he should be appointed bishop of Metz, and ample rewards were promised to such of his monks as should be most active in co-operating with him.

The father guardian accomplished what he had undertaken to perform with great secrecy and despatch. By his authority and arguments, as well as by the prospect of wealth and honors which he set before his monks, he prevailed on all of them to enter into the conspiracy. He introduced into the convent, without being suspected, as many soldiers as were thought sufficient. The governor of Thionville, apprised in due time of the design, had assembled a proper number of troops for executing it; and the moment approached which probably would have wrested from Henry the most important of all his conquests.

But, happily for France, on the very day that was fixed for striking the blow, Vielleville, an able and vigilant officer, received information from a spy whom he entertained at Thionville that certain Franciscan friars resorted frequently thither and were admitted to many private conferences with the governor, who was carrying on preparations for some military enterprise with great despatch, but with a most mysterious secrecy.

This was sufficient to awaken Vielleville's suspicions. Without communicating these to any person, he instantly visited the convent of Franciscans, detected the soldiers who were concealed there, and forced them to discover as much as they knew concerning the nature of the enterprise. The father guardian, who had gone to Thionville that he might put the last hand to his machinations, was seized at the gate as he returned; and he, in order to save himself from the rack, revealed all the circumstances of the conspiracy.

Vielleville, not satisfied with having seized the traitors and having frustrated their schemes, was solicitous to take advantage of the discoveries which he had made, so as to be revenged on the imperialists. For this purpose he marched out with the best troops in his garrison, and, placing these in ambush near the road by which the father guardian had informed him that the governor of Thionville would approach Metz, he fell upon the imperialists with great fury, as they advanced in perfect security, without suspecting any danger to be near. Confounded at this sudden attack by an enemy whom they expected to surprise, they made little resistance; and a great part of the troops employed in this service, among whom were many persons of distinction, was killed or taken prisoners. Before next morning, Vielleville returned to Metz in triumph.

No resolution was taken for some time concerning the fate of the father guardian and his monks, the framers and conductors of this dangerous conspiracy. Regard for the honor of a

body so numerous and respectable as the Franciscans, and unwillingness to afford a subject of triumph to the enemies of the Romish Church by their disgrace, seem to have occasioned this delay. But at length the necessity of inflicting exemplary punishment upon them, in order to deter others from venturing to commit the same crime, became so evident that orders were issued to proceed to their trial. Their guilt was made apparent by the clearest evidence, and sentence of death was passed upon the father guardian, together with twenty monks. On the evening previous to the day fixed for their execution, the jailer took them out of the dungeons in which they had hitherto been confined separately, and shut them all up in one great room, that they might confess their sins one to another and join together in preparing for a future state. But as soon as they were left alone, instead of employing themselves in the religious exercises suitable to their condition, they began to reproach the father guardian, and four of the senior monks who had been most active in seducing them, for their inordinate ambition, which had brought such misery on them and such disgrace upon their order. From reproaches they proceeded to curses and execrations, and at last, in a frenzy of rage and despair, they fell upon them with such violence that they murdered the father guardian on the spot, and so disabled the other four that it became necessary to carry them next morning in a cart, together with the dead body of the father guardian, to the place of execution. Six of the youngest were pardoned;

the rest suffered the punishment which their crime merited.[33]

Though both parties, exhausted by the length of the war, carried it on in this languishing manner, neither of them showed any disposition to listen to overtures of peace. Cardinal Pole, indeed, labored with all the zeal becoming his piety and humanity, to re-establish concord among the princes of Christendom. He had not only persuaded his mistress, the queen of England, to enter warmly into his sentiments and to offer her mediation to the contending powers, but had prevailed both on the emperor and king of France to send their plenipotentiaries to a village between Gravelines and Ardres. He himself, together with Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, repaired thither, in order to preside as mediators in the conferences which were to be held for adjusting all the points in difference. But, though each of the monarchs committed this negotiation to some of their ministers in whom they placed the greatest confidence, it was soon evident that they came together with no sincere desire of accommodation. Each proposed articles so extravagant that they could have no hopes of their being accepted. Pole, after exerting in vain all his zeal and address in order to persuade them to relinquish such extravagant demands and to consent to the substitution of more equal conditions, became sensible of the folly of wasting time in attempting to re-establish

[33] Thuan., lib. xv. p. 522.—Belcar., Com. Rer. Gal., 866.—Mémoires du Maréch. Vielleville, par M. Charloix, tom. iii. p. 249, etc., p. 347, Par., 1757.

concord between those whom their obstinacy rendered irreconcilable, broke off the conference, and returned to England.[34]

During these transactions in other parts of Europe, Germany enjoyed such profound tranquillity as afforded the diet full leisure to deliberate, and to establish proper regulations concerning a point of the greatest consequence to the internal peace of the empire. By the treaty of Passau, in 1552, it had been referred to the next diet of the empire to confirm and perfect the plan of religious pacification which was there agreed upon. The terror and the confusion with which the violent commotions excited by Albert of Brandenburg had filled Germany, as well as the constant attention which Ferdinand was obliged to give to the affairs of Hungary, had hitherto prevented the holding a diet, though it had been summoned, soon after the conclusion of the treaty, to meet at Augsburg.

But, as a diet was now necessary on many accounts, Ferdinand, about the beginning of this year, had repaired to Augsburg. Though few of the princes were present, either in person or by their deputies, he opened the assembly by a speech, in which he proposed a termination of the dissensions to which the new tenets and controversies with regard to religion had given rise, not only as the first and great business of the diet, but as the point which both the emperor and he had most at heart. He represented the innumerable obstacles which the emperor had to surmount before he

[34] Thuan., lib. xv. p. 523.—Mém. de Ribier, tom. ii. p. 613.

could procure the convocation of a general council, as well as the fatal accidents which had for some time retarded, and had at last suspended, the consultations of that assembly. He observed that experience had already taught them how vain it was to expect any remedy for evils, which demanded immediate redress, from a general council, the assembling of which would either be prevented, or its deliberations be interrupted, by the dissensions and hostilities of the princes of Christendom; that a national council in Germany, which, as some imagined, might be called with greater ease and deliberate with more perfect security, was an assembly of an unprecedented nature, the jurisdiction of which was uncertain in its extent, and the form of its proceedings undefined; that in his opinion there remained but one method for composing their unhappy differences, which, though it had been often tried without success, might yet prove effectual if it were attempted with a better and more pacific spirit than had appeared on former occasions, and that was to choose a few men of learning, abilities, and moderation, who, by discussing the disputed articles in an amicable conference, might explain them in such a manner as to bring the contending parties either to unite in sentiment or to differ with charity.

This speech, being printed in common form and dispersed over the empire, revived the fears and jealousies of the Protestants. Ferdinand, they observed with much surprise, had not once mentioned, in his address to the diet, the treaty of

Passau, the stipulations in which they considered as the great security of their religious liberty. The suspicions to which this gave rise were confirmed by the accounts which they daily received of the extreme severity with which Ferdinand treated their Protestant brethren in his hereditary dominions; and, as it was natural to consider his actions as the surest indication of his intentions, this diminished their confidence in those pompous professions of moderation and of zeal for the re-establishment of concord, to which his practice seemed to be so repugnant.

The arrival of the Cardinal Morone, whom the pope had appointed to attend the diet as his nuncio, completed their conviction, and left them no room to doubt that some dangerous machination was forming against the peace or safety of the Protestant Church. Julius, elated with the unexpected return of the English nation from apostasy, began to flatter himself that, the spirit of mutiny and revolt having now spent its force, the happy period was come when the Church might resume its ancient authority and be obeyed by the people with the same tame submission as formerly. Full of these hopes, he had sent Morone to Augsburg, with instructions to employ his eloquence to excite the Germans to imitate the laudable example of the English, and his political address in order to prevent any decree of the diet to the detriment of the Catholic faith. As Morone inherited from his father, the chancellor of Milan, uncommon talents for negotiation and intrigue, he could hardly have failed of embarrassing the measures

of the Protestants in the diet, or of defeating whatever they aimed at obtaining in it for their further security.

But an unforeseen event delivered them from all the danger which they had reason to apprehend from Morone's presence. Julius, by abandoning himself to pleasures and amusements no less unbecoming his age than his character, having contracted such habits of dissipation that any serious occupation, especially if attended with difficulty, became an intolerable burden to him, had long resisted the solicitations of his nephew to hold a consistory, because he expected there a violent opposition to his schemes in favor of that young man. But when all the pretexts which he could invent for eluding this request were exhausted, and, at the same time, his indolent aversion to business continued to grow upon him, he feigned indisposition rather than yield to his nephew's importunity; and, that he might give the deceit a greater color of probability, he not only confined himself to his apartment, but changed his usual diet and manner of life. By persisting too long in acting this ridiculous part, he contracted a real disease, of which he died in a few days, leaving his infamous minion, the Cardinal di Monte, to bear his name, and to disgrace the dignity which he had conferred upon him.[35] As soon as Morone heard of his death, he set out abruptly from Augsburg, where he had resided only a few days, that he might be present at the election of a new pontiff.

[35] Onuphr. Panvinius de Vitis Pontificum, p. 320.—Thuan., lib. xv. p. 517.

One cause of their suspicions and fears being thus removed, the Protestants soon became sensible that their conjectures concerning Ferdinand's intentions, however specious, were ill founded, and that he had no thoughts of violating the articles favorable to them in the treaty of Passau. Charles, from the time that Maurice had defeated all his schemes in the empire and overturned the great scheme of religious and civil despotism which he had almost established there, gave little attention to the internal government of Germany, and permitted his brother to pursue whatever measures he judged most salutary and expedient. Ferdinand, less ambitious and enterprising than the emperor, instead of resuming a plan which he, with power and resources so far superior, had failed of accomplishing, endeavored to attach the princes of the empire to his family by an administration uniformly moderate and equitable. To this he gave, at present, particular attention, because his situation at this juncture rendered it necessary to court their favor and support with more than usual assiduity.

Charles had again resumed his favorite project of acquiring the imperial crown for his son Philip, the prosecution of which the reception it had met with when first proposed had obliged him to suspend, but had not induced him to relinquish. This led him warmly to renew his request to his brother that he would accept of some compensation for his prior right of succession, and sacrifice that to the grandeur of the house of Austria. Ferdinand, who was as little disposed as formerly to give such

an extraordinary proof of self-denial, being sensible that in order to defeat this scheme not only the most inflexible firmness on his part, but a vigorous declaration from the princes of the empire in behalf of his title, was requisite, was willing to purchase their favor by gratifying them in every point that they deemed interesting or essential.

At the same time he stood in need of immediate and extraordinary aid from the Germanic body, as the Turks, after having wrested from him great part of his Hungarian territories, were ready to attack the provinces still subject to his authority with a formidable army, against which he could bring no equal force into the field. For this aid from Germany he could not hope if the internal peace of the empire were not established on a foundation solid in itself, and which should appear even to the Protestants so secure and so permanent as might not only allow them to engage in a distant war with safety, but might encourage them to act in it with vigor.

A step taken by the Protestants themselves, a short time after the opening of the diet, rendered him still more cautious of giving them any new cause of offence.

As soon as the publication of Ferdinand's speech awakened the fears and suspicions which have been mentioned, the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, together with the landgrave of Hesse, met at Naumburg, and, confirming the ancient treaty of confraternity which had long united their families, they added to it a new article, by which the contracting parties bound

themselves to adhere to the Confession of Augsburg, and to maintain the doctrine which it contained in their respective dominions.[36]

Ferdinand, influenced by all these considerations, employed his utmost address in conducting the deliberations of the diet so as not to excite the jealousy of a party on whose friendship he depended, and whose enmity, as they had not only taken the alarm but had begun to prepare for their defence, he had so much reason to dread. The members of the diet readily agreed to Ferdinand's proposal of taking the state of religion into consideration previous to any other business. But, as soon as they entered upon it, both parties discovered all the zeal and animosity which a subject so interesting naturally engenders, and which the rancor of controversy, together with the violence of civil war, had inflamed to the highest pitch.

The Protestants contended that the security which they claimed in consequence of the treaty of Passau should extend, without limitation, to all who had hitherto embraced the doctrine of Luther, or who should hereafter embrace it. The Catholics, having first of all asserted the pope's right as the supreme and final judge with respect to all articles of faith, declared that though, on account of the present situation of the empire, and for the sake of peace, they were willing to confirm the toleration granted by the treaty of Passau to such as had already adopted the new opinions, they must insist that this indulgence should not be extended either to those cities which had con-

[36] Chytræi Saxonia, 480.

formed to the Interim or to such ecclesiastics as should for the future apostatize from the Church of Rome. It was no easy matter to reconcile such opposite pretensions, which were supported on each side by the most elaborate arguments and the greatest acrimony of expression that the abilities or zeal of theologians long exercised in disputation could suggest. Ferdinand, however, by his address and perseverance, by softening some things on each side, by putting a favorable meaning upon others, by representing incessantly the necessity as well as the advantages of concord, and by threatening, on some occasions, when all other considerations were disregarded, to dissolve the diet, brought them at length to a conclusion in which they all agreed.

Conformably to this, a recess was framed, approved of, and published with the usual formalities. The following are the chief articles which it contained: that such princes and cities as have declared their approbation of the Confession of Augsburg shall be permitted to profess the doctrine and exercise the worship which it authorizes, without interuption or molestation from the emperor, the king of the Romans, or any power or person whatsoever; that the Protestants, on their part, shall give no disquiet to the princes and states who adhere to the tenets and rites of the Church of Rome; that, for the future, no attempt shall be made towards terminating religious differences but by the gentle and pacific methods of persuasion and conference; that the popish ecclesiastics shall claim no spiritual jurisdiction in such states

as receive the Confession of Augsburg; that such as had seized the benefices or revenues of the Church, previous to the treaty of Passau, shall retain possession of them, and be liable to no prosecution in the imperial chamber on that account; that the supreme civil power in every state shall have right to establish what form of doctrine and worship it shall deem proper, and, if any of its subjects refuse to conform to these, shall permit them to remove, with all their effects, whithersoever they shall please; that if any prelate or ecclesiastic shall hereafter abandon the Romish religion he shall instantly relinquish his diocese or benefice, and it shall be lawful for those in whom the right of nomination is vested to proceed immediately to an election, as if the office were vacant by death or translation, and to appoint a successor of undoubted attachment to the ancient system.[37]

Such are the capital articles in this famous recess, which is the basis of religious peace in Germany and the bond of union among its various states, the sentiments of which are so extremely different with respect to points the most interesting as well as important. In our age and nation, to which the idea of toleration is familiar and its beneficial effects well known, it may seem strange that a method of terminating their dissensions, so suitable to the mild and charitable spirit of the Christian religion, did not sooner occur to the contending parties. But this expedient, however salutary, was so repugnant to the sentiments and

[37] Sleid., 620.—F. Paul, 368.—Pallav., ii. 161.

practice of Christians during many ages that it did not lie obvious to discovery. Among the ancient heathens, all whose deities were local and tutelary, diversity of sentiment concerning the object or rites of religious worship seems to have been no source of animosity, because the acknowledging veneration to be due to any one god did not imply denial of the existence or the power of any other god; nor were the modes and rites of worship established in one country incompatible with those which other nations approved of and observed. Thus the errors in their system of theology were of such a nature as to be productive of concord; and, notwithstanding the amazing number of their deities, as well as the infinite variety of their ceremonies, a sociable and tolerating spirit subsisted almost universally in the pagan world.

But when the Christian revelation declared one Supreme Being to be the sole object of religious veneration, and prescribed the form of worship most acceptable to him, whoever admitted the truth of it held, of consequence, every other system of religion, as a deviation from what was established by divine authority, to be false and impious. Hence arose the zeal of the first converts to the Christian faith in propagating its doctrines, and the ardor with which they labored to overturn every other form of worship. They employed, however, for this purpose no methods but such as suited the nature of religion. By the force of powerful arguments they convinced the understandings of men; by the charms of superior virtue they allured and captivated their hearts.

At length the civil power declared in favor of Christianity; and, though numbers, imitating the example of their superiors, crowded into the Church, many still adhered to their ancient superstitions. Enraged at their obstinacy, the ministers of religion, whose zeal was still unabated, though their sanctity and virtue were much diminished, forgot so far the nature of their own mission, and of the arguments which they ought to have employed, that they armed the imperial power against these unhappy men, and, as they could not persuade, they tried to compel them to believe.

At the same time, controversies concerning articles of faith multiplied, from various causes, among Christians themselves, and the same unhallowed weapons which had first been used against the enemies of their religion were turned against each other. Every zealous disputant endeavored to interest the civil magistrate in his cause, and each in his turn employed the secular arm to crush or to exterminate his opponents. Not long after, the bishops of Rome put in their claim to infallibility in explaining articles of faith and deciding points in controversy; and, bold as the pretension was, they, by their artifices and perseverance, imposed on the credulity of mankind and brought them to recognize it. To doubt or to deny any doctrine to which these unerring instructors had given the sanction of their approbation was held to be not only a resisting of truth, but an act of rebellion against their sacred authority; and the secular power, of which by various arts they had

acquired the absolute direction, was instantly employed to avenge both.

Thus Europe had been accustomed, during many centuries, to see speculative opinions propagated or defended by force; the charity and mutual forbearance which Christianity recommends with so much warmth were forgotten; the sacred rights of conscience and of private judgment were unheard of; and not only the idea of toleration, but even the word itself, in the sense now affixed to it, was unknown. A right to extirpate error by force was universally allowed to be the prerogative of such as possessed the knowledge of truth; and as each party of Christians believed that they had got possession of this valuable attainment, they all claimed and exercised, as far as they were able, the rights which it was supposed to convey. The Roman Catholics, as their system rested on the decisions of an infallible judge, never doubted that truth was on their side, and openly called on the civil power to repel the impious and heretical innovators who had risen up against it. The Protestants, no less confident that their doctrine was well founded, required, with equal ardor, the princes of their party to check such as presumed to impugn it. Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, the founders of the Reformed Church in their respective countries, as far as they had power and opportunity, inflicted the same punishments upon such as called in question any article in their creeds, which were denounced against their own disciples by the Church of Rome. To their followers, and perhaps to their

opponents, it would have appeared a symptom of diffidence in the goodness of their cause, or an acknowledgment that it was not well founded, if they had not employed in its defence all those means which it was supposed truth had a right to employ.

It was towards the close of the seventeenth century before toleration, under its present form, was admitted first into the republic of the United Provinces, and from thence introduced into England. Long experience of the calamities flowing from mutual persecution, the influence of free government, the light and humanity acquired by the progress of science, together with the prudence and authority of the civil magistrate, were all requisite in order to establish a regulation so repugnant to the ideas which all the different sects had adopted, from mistaken conceptions concerning the nature of religion and the rights of truth, or which all of them had derived from the erroneous maxims established by the Church of Rome.

The recess of Augsburg, it is evident, was founded on no such liberal and enlarged sentiments concerning freedom of religious inquiry or the nature of toleration. It was nothing more than a scheme of pacification, which political considerations alone had suggested to the contending parties, and regard for their mutual tranquillity and safety had rendered necessary. Of this there can be no stronger proof than an article in the recess itself, by which the benefits of the pacification are declared to extend only to the Catholics on the one side, and to such as adhered to the Con-

fession of Augsburg on the other. The followers of Zuinglius and Calvin remained, in consequence of that exclusion, without any protection from the rigor of the laws denounced against heretics. Nor did they obtain any legal security until the treaty of Westphalia, near a century after this period, provided that they should be admitted to enjoy, in as ample a manner as the Lutherans, all the advantages and protection which the recess of Augsburg affords.

But, if the followers of Luther were highly pleased with the security which they acquired by this recess, such as adhered to the ancient system had no less reason to be satisfied with that article in it which preserved entire to the Roman Catholic Church the benefices of such ecclesiastics as should hereafter renounce its doctrines. This article, known in Germany by the name of the *Ecclesiastical Reservation*, was apparently so conformable to the idea and to the rights of an established church, and it seemed so equitable to prevent revenues, which had been originally appropriated for the maintenance of persons attached to a certain system, from being alienated to any other purpose, that the Protestants, though they foresaw its consequences, were obliged to relinquish their opposition to it. As the Roman Catholic princes of the empire have taken care to see this article exactly observed in every case where there was an opportunity of putting it in execution, it has proved the great barrier of the Romish Church in Germany against the Reformation; and as, from this period, the same temptation of interest did

not allure ecclesiastics to relinquish the established system, there have been few of that order who have loved truth with such disinterested and ardent affection as for its sake to abandon the rich benefices which they had in possession.

During the sitting of the diet, Marcellus Cervino, Cardinal di Santo Croce, was elected pope in room of Julius. He, in imitation of Adrian, did not change his name on being exalted to the papal chair. As he equalled that pontiff in purity of intention, while he excelled him much in the arts of government, and still more in knowledge of the state and genius of the papal court, as he had capacity to discern what reformation it needed, as well as what it could bear, such regulations were expected from his virtue and wisdom as would have removed many of its grossest and most flagrant corruptions, and have contributed towards reconciling to the Church such as, from indignation at these enormities, had abandoned its communion. But this excellent pontiff was only shown to the Church, and immediately snatched away. The confinement in the conclave had impaired his health, and the fatigue of tedious ceremonies upon his accession, together with too intense and anxious application of mind to the schemes of improvement which he meditated, exhausted so entirely the vigor of his feeble constitution that he sickened on the twelfth and died on the twentieth day after his election.[38]

All the refinements in artifice and intrigue, peculiar to conclaves, were displayed in that which

[38] Thuan., 520.—F. Paul, 365.—Onuph. Panvin., 321, etc.

was held for electing a successor to Marcellus; the cardinals of the imperial and French factions laboring with equal ardor to gain the necessary number of suffrages for one of their own party. But, after a struggle of no long duration, though conducted with all the warmth and eagerness natural to men contending for so great an object, they united in choosing John Peter Caraffa, the eldest member of the sacred college, and the son of Count Montorio, a nobleman of an illustrious family in the kingdom of Naples. The address and influence of Cardinal Farnese, who favored his pretensions, Caraffa's own merit, and perhaps his great age, which soothed all the disappointed candidates with the near prospect of a new vacancy, concurred in bringing about this speedy union of suffrages. In order to testify his respect for the memory of Paul III., by whom he had been created cardinal, as well as his gratitude to the family of Farnese, he assumed the name of Paul IV.

The choice of a prelate of such a singular character, and who had long held a course extremely different from that which usually led to the dignity now conferred upon him, filled the Italians, who had nearest access to observe his manners and deportment, with astonishment, and kept them in suspense and solicitude with regard to his future conduct. Paul, though born in a rank of life which, without any other merit, might have secured to him the highest ecclesiastical preferments, had from his early years applied to study with all the assiduity of a man who had nothing

but his personal attainments to render him conspicuous. By means of this, he not only acquired profound skill in scholastic theology, but added to that a considerable knowledge of the learned languages and of polite literature, the study of which had been lately revived in Italy and was pursued at this time with great ardor. His mind, however, naturally gloomy and severe, was more formed to imbibe the sour spirit of the former than to receive any tincture of elegance or liberality of sentiment from the latter; so that he acquired rather the qualities and passions of a recluse ecclesiastic than the talents necessary for the conduct of great affairs. Accordingly, when he entered into orders, although several rich benefices were bestowed upon him, and he was early employed as a nuncio in different courts, he soon became disgusted with that course of life, and languished to be in a situation more suited to his taste and temper. With this view, he resigned at once all his ecclesiastical preferments, and, having instituted an order of regular priests, whom he denominated Theatines, from the name of the archbishopric which he had held, he associated himself as a member of their fraternity, conformed to all the rigorous rules to which he had subjected them, and preferred the solitude of a monastic life, with the honor of being the founder of a new order, to all the great objects which the court of Rome presented to his ambition.

In this retreat he remained for many years, until Paul III., induced by the fame of his sanctity and knowledge, called him to Rome, in order

to consult with him concerning the measures which might be most proper and effectual for suppressing heresy and re-establishing the ancient authority of the Church. Having thus allured him from his solitude, the pope, partly by his entreaties and partly by his authority, prevailed on him to accept of a cardinal's hat, to resume the benefices which he had resigned, and to return again into the usual path of ecclesiastical ambition, which he seemed to have relinquished. But during two successive pontificates, under the first of which the court of Rome was the most artful and interested, and under the second the most dissolute, of any in Europe, Caraffa retained his monastic austerity. He was an avowed and bitter enemy not only of all innovation in opinion, but of every irregularity in practice; he was the chief instrument in establishing the formidable and odious tribunal of the Inquisition in the papal territories; he appeared a violent advocate on all occasions for the jurisdiction and discipline of the Church, and a severe censurer of every measure which seemed to flow from motives of policy or interest rather than from zeal for the honor of the ecclesiastical order and the dignity of the holy see. Under a prelate of such a character, the Roman courtiers expected a severe and violent pontificate, during which the principles of sound policy would be sacrificed to the narrow prejudices of priestly zeal; while the people of Rome were apprehensive of seeing the sordid and forbidding rigor of monastic manners substituted in place of the magnificence to which they had long been accustomed in the papal court.

These apprehensions Paul was extremely solicitous to remove. At his first entrance upon the administration he laid aside that austerity which had hitherto distinguished his person and family; and when the master of his household inquired in what manner he would choose to live, he haughtily replied, " As becomes a great prince." He ordered the ceremony of his coronation to be conducted with more than usual pomp, and endeavored to render himself popular by several acts of liberality and indulgence towards the inhabitants of Rome.[39]

His natural severity of temper, however, would have soon returned upon him, and would have justified the conjectures of the courtiers, as well as the fears of the people, if he had not, immediately after his election, called to Rome two of his nephews, the sons of his brother, the count of Montorio. The eldest he promoted to be governor of Rome; the youngest, who had hitherto served as a soldier of fortune in the armies of Spain and France, and whose disposition as well as manners were still more foreign from the clerical character than his profession, he created a cardinal, and appointed him legate of Bologna, the second office in power and dignity which a pope can bestow. These marks of favor, no less sudden than extravagant, he accompanied with the most unbounded confidence and attachment; and, forgetting all his former severe maxims, he seemed to have no other object than the aggrandizing of his nephews. Their ambition, unfortunately for

[39] Platina, p. 327.—Castaldo, Vita di Paolo IV., Rom., 1615, p. 70.

Paul, was too aspiring to be satisfied with any moderate acquisition. They had seen the family of Medici raised by the interest of the popes of that house to supreme power in Tuscany; Paul III. had, by his abilities and address, secured the duchies of Parma and Placentia to the family of Farnese. They aimed at some establishment for themselves, no less considerable and independent; and, as they could not expect that the pope would carry his indulgence towards them so far as to secularize any part of the patrimony of the Church, they had no prospect of attaining what they wished, but by dismembering the imperial dominions in Italy, in hopes of seizing some portion of them. This alone they would have deemed a sufficient reason for sowing the seeds of discord between their uncle and the emperor.

But Cardinal Caraffa had, besides, private reasons which filled him with hatred and enmity to the emperor. While he served in the Spanish troops, he had not received such marks of honor and distinction as he thought due to his birth and merit. Disgusted with this ill usage, he had abruptly quitted the imperial service; and, entering into that of France, he had not only met with such a reception as soothed his vanity and attached him to the French interest, but by contracting an intimate friendship with Strozzi, who commanded the French army in Tuscany, he had imbibed a mortal antipathy to the emperor, as the great enemy to the liberty and independence of the Italian states. Nor was the pope himself indisposed to receive impressions unfavorable to the emperor. The

opposition given to his election by the cardinals of the imperial faction left in his mind deep resentment, which was heightened by the remembrance of ancient injuries from Charles or his ministers.

Of this his nephews took advantage, and employed various devices in order to exasperate him beyond a possibility of reconciliation. They aggravated every circumstance which could be deemed any indication of the emperor's dissatisfaction with his promotion; they read to him an intercepted letter, in which Charles taxed the cardinals of his party with negligence or incapacity in not having defeated Paul's election; they pretended, at one time, to have discovered a conspiracy formed by the imperial minister and Cosmo de' Medici against the pope's life; they alarmed him, at another, with accounts of a plot for assassinating themselves. By these artifices they kept his mind, which was naturally violent, and become suspicious from old age, in such perpetual agitation as precipitated him into measures which otherwise he would have been the first person to condemn.[40] He seized some of the cardinals who were most attached to the emperor, and confined them in the castle of St. Angelo; he persecuted the Colonnas and other Roman barons, the ancient retainers to the imperial faction, with the utmost severity; and, discovering on all occasions his distrust, fear, or hatred of the emperor, he began at last to court the friendship of the French king,

[40] Ripamontii Hist. Patriæ, lib. iii. 1146, ap. Græv. Thes., vol. ii.—Mém. de Ribier, ii. 615.—Adriani, Istor., i. 906.

and seemed willing to throw himself absolutely upon him for support and protection.

This was the very point to which his nephews wished to bring him, as most favorable to their ambitious schemes; and as the accomplishment of these depended on their uncle's life, whose advanced age did not admit of losing a moment unnecessarily in negotiations, instead of treating at second hand with the French ambassador at Rome, they prevailed on the pope to despatch a person of confidence directly to the court of France, with such overtures on his part as they hoped would not be rejected. He proposed an alliance offensive and defensive between Henry and the pope; that they should attack the duchy of Tuscany and the kingdom of Naples with their united forces; and, if their arms should prove successful, that the ancient republican form of government should be re-established in the former, and the investiture of the latter should be granted to one of the French king's sons, after reserving a certain territory which should be annexed to the patrimony of the Church, together with an independent and princely establishment for each of the pope's nephews.

The king, allured by these specious projects, gave a most favorable audience to the envoy. But when the matter was proposed in council, the Constable Montmorency, whose natural caution and aversion to daring enterprises increased with age and experience, remonstrated with great vehemence against the alliance. He put Henry in mind how fatal to France every expedition into

Italy had been during three successive reigns; and if such an enterprise had proved too great for the nation, even when its strength and finances were entire, there was no reason to hope for success if it should be attempted now, when both were exhausted by extraordinary efforts during wars which had lasted, with little interruption, almost half a century. He represented the manifest imprudence of entering into engagements with a pope of fourscore, as any system which rested on no better foundation than his life must be extremely precarious; and upon the event of his death, which could not be distant, the face of things, together with the inclination of the Italian states, must instantly change, and the whole weight of the war be left upon the king alone. To these considerations he added the near prospect which they now had of a final accommodation with the emperor, who, having taken the resolution of retiring from the world, wished to transmit his kingdoms in peace to his son; and he concluded with representing the absolute certainty of drawing the arms of England upon France if it should appear that the re-establishment of tranquillity in Europe was prevented by the ambition of its monarch.

These arguments, weighty in themselves, and urged by a minister of great authority, would probably have determined the king to decline any connection with the pope. But the duke of Guise, and his brother, the cardinal of Lorraine, who delighted no less in bold and dangerous undertakings than Montmorency shunned them, declared

warmly for an alliance with the pope. The cardinal expected to be intrusted with the conduct of the negotiations in the court of Rome to which this alliance would give rise; the duke hoped to obtain the command of the army which would be appointed to invade Naples; and, considering themselves as already in these stations, vast projects opened to their aspiring and unbounded ambition. Their credit, together with the influence of the king's mistress, the famous Diana of Poitiers, who was at that time entirely devoted to the interest of the family of Guise, more than counterbalanced all Montmorency's prudent remonstrances, and prevailed on an inconsiderate prince to listen to the overtures of the pope's envoy.

The cardinal of Lorraine, as he had expected, was immediately sent to Rome, with full powers to conclude the treaty and to concert measures for carrying it into execution. Before he could reach that city, the pope, either from reflecting on the danger and uncertain issue of all military operations, or through the address of the imperial ambassador, who had been at great pains to soothe him, had not only begun to lose much of the ardor with which he had commenced the negotiation with France, but even discovered great unwillingness to continue it. In order to rouse him from this fit of despondency, and to rekindle his former rage, his nephews had recourse to the arts which they had already practised with so much success. They alarmed him with new representations of the emperor's hostile intentions, with fresh accounts

which they had received of threats uttered against him by the imperial ministers, and with new discoveries which they pretended to have made of conspiracies formed, and just ready to take effect, against his life.

But these artifices, having been formerly tried, would not have operated a second time with the same force, nor have made the impression which they wished, if Paul had not been excited by an offence of that kind which he was least able to bear. He received advice of the recess of the diet of Augsburg, and of the toleration which was thereby granted to the Protestants; and this threw him at once into such transports of passion against the emperor and king of the Romans as carried him headlong into all the violent measures of his nephews. Full of high ideas with respect to the papal prerogative, and animated with the fiercest zeal against heresy, he considered the liberty of deciding concerning religious matters, which had been assumed by an assembly composed chiefly of laymen, as a presumptuous and unpardonable encroachment on that jurisdiction which belonged to him alone, and regarded the indulgence which had been given to the Protestants as an impious act of that power which the diet had usurped. He complained loudly of both to the imperial ambassador. He insisted that the recess of the diet should immediately be declared illegal and void. He threatened the emperor and king of the Romans, in case they should either refuse or delay to gratify him in this particular, with the severest effects of his vengeance. He talked in a

tone of authority and command which might have suited a pontiff of the twelfth century, when a papal decree was sufficient to have shaken, or to have overturned, the throne of the greatest monarch in Europe, but which was altogether improper in that age, especially when addressed to the minister of a prince who had so often made pontiffs more formidable than Paul feel the weight of his power. The ambassador, however, heard all his extravagant propositions and menaces with much patience, and endeavored to soothe him by putting him in mind of the extreme distress to which the emperor had been reduced at Inspruck, of the engagements which he had come under to the Protestants in order to extricate himself, of the necessity of fulfilling these and of accommodating his conduct to the situation of his affairs. But, weighty as these considerations were, they made no impression on the mind of the haughty and bigoted pontiff, who instantly replied that he would absolve him by his apostolic authority from those impious engagements, and even command him not to perform them; that in carrying on the cause of God and of the church no regard ought to be had to the maxims of worldly prudence and policy; and that the ill success of the emperor's schemes in Germany might justly be deemed a mark of the Divine displeasure against him on account of his having paid little attention to the former, while he regulated his conduct entirely by the latter. Having said this, he turned from the ambassador abruptly, without waiting for a reply.

His nephews took care to applaud and cherish these sentiments, and easily wrought up his arrogant mind, fraught with all the monkish ideas concerning the extent of the papal supremacy, to such a pitch of resentment against the house of Austria, and to such a high opinion of his own power, that he talked continually of his being the successor of those who had deposed kings and emperors; that he was exalted as head over them all, and would trample such as opposed him under his feet. In this disposition the cardinal of Lorraine found the pope, and easily persuaded him to sign a treaty which had for its object the ruin of a prince against whom he was so highly exasperated. The stipulations in the treaty were much the same as had been proposed by the pope's envoy at Paris, and it was agreed to keep the whole transaction secret until their united forces should be ready to take the field.[41]

During the negotiation of this treaty at Rome and Paris, an event happened which seemed to render the fears that had given rise to it vain, and the operations which were to follow upon it unnecessary. This was the emperor's resignation of his hereditary dominions to his son Philip; together with his resolution to withdraw entirely from any concern in business or the affairs of this world, in order that he might spend the remainder of his days in retirement and solitude.

Though it requires neither deep reflection nor extraordinary discernment to discover that the

[41] Pallav., lib. xiii. p. 163.—F. Paul, 365.—Thuan., lib. xv. 525, lib. xvi. 540.—Mém. de Ribier, ii. 609, etc.

state of royalty is not exempt from cares and disappointment; though most of those who are exalted to a throne find solicitude and satiety and disgust to be their perpetual attendants in that envied pre-eminence; yet to descend voluntarily from the supreme to a subordinate station, and to relinquish the possession of power in order to attain the enjoyment of happiness, seems to be an effort too great for the human mind. Several instances, indeed, occur in history of monarchs who have quitted a throne and have ended their days in retirement. But they were either weak princes, who took this resolution rashly and repented of it as soon as it was taken, or unfortunate princes, from whose hands some stronger rival had wrested their sceptre and compelled them to descend with reluctance into a private station. Diocletian is perhaps the only prince capable of holding the reins of government who ever resigned them from deliberate choice and who continued during many years to enjoy the tranquillity of retirement without fetching one penitent sigh, or casting back one look of desire towards the power or dignity which he had abandoned.

No wonder, then, that Charles's resignation should fill all Europe with astonishment, and give rise, both among his contemporaries and among the historians of that period, to various conjectures concerning the motives which determined a prince whose ruling passion had been uniformly the love of power, at the age of fifty-six, when objects of ambition continue to operate with full force on the mind and are pursued with the

greatest ardor, to take a resolution so singular and unexpected. But, while many authors have imputed it to motives so frivolous and fantastical as can hardly be supposed to influence any reasonable mind, while others have imagined it to be the result of some profound scheme of policy, historians more intelligent and better informed neither ascribe it to caprice nor search for mysterious secrets of state where simple and obvious causes will fully account for the emperor's conduct. Charles had been attacked early in life with the gout, and, notwithstanding all the precautions of the most skilful physicians, the violence of the distemper increased as he advanced in age, and the fits became every year more frequent, as well as more severe. Not only was the vigor of his constitution broken, but the faculties of his mind were impaired by the excruciating torments which he endured. During the continuance of the fits he was altogether incapable of applying to business, and even when they began to abate, as it was only at intervals that he could attend to what was serious, he gave up a great part of his time to trifling and even childish occupations, which served to relieve or to amuse his mind, enfeebled and worn out with excess of pain. Under these circumstances the conduct of such affairs as occurred of course in governing so many kingdoms was a burden more than sufficient; but to push forward and complete the vast schemes which the ambition of his more active years had formed, or to keep in view and carry on the same great system of policy, extending to every nation in

Europe and connected with the operations of every different court, were functions which so far exceeded his strength that they oppressed and overwhelmed his mind. As he had been long accustomed to view the business of every department, whether civil or military or ecclesiastical, with his own eyes, and to decide concerning it according to his own ideas, it gave him the utmost pain when he felt his infirmities increase so fast upon him that he was obliged to commit the conduct of all affairs to his ministers. He imputed every misfortune which befell him, and every miscarriage that happened, even when the former was unavoidable or the latter accidental, to his inability to take the inspection of business himself. He complained of his hard fortune in being opposed in his declining years to a rival who was in the full vigor of life, and that, while Henry could take and execute all his resolutions in person, he should now be reduced, both in council and in action, to rely on the talents and exertions of other men. Having thus grown old before his time, he wisely judged it more decent to conceal his infirmities in some solitude than to expose them any longer to the public eye, and prudently determined not to forfeit the fame or lose the acquisitions of his better years by struggling with a vain obstinacy to retain the reins of government when he was no longer able to hold them with steadiness or to guide them with address.[42]

[42] Dom Lévesque, in his memoirs of Cardinal Granvelle, gives a reason for the emperor's resignation which, as far as I recollect, is not mentioned by any other historian. He says that the emperor

But though Charles had revolved this scheme in his mind for several years, and had communicated it to his sisters, the dower queens of France and Hungary, who not only approved of his intention but offered to accompany him to whatever place of retreat he should choose, several things had hitherto prevented his carrying it into execution. He could not think of loading his son with the government of so many kingdoms until he should attain such maturity of age and of abilities as would enable him to sustain that weighty burden. But as Philip had now reached his twenty-eighth year, and had been early accustomed to business, for which he discovered both inclination and capacity, it can hardly be imputed to the partiality of paternal affection that his scruples with regard to

having ceded the government of the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan to his son upon his marriage with the queen of England, Philip, notwithstanding the advice and entreaties of his father, removed most of the ministers and officers whom he had employed in those countries, and appointed creatures of his own to fill the places which they held; that he aspired openly, and with little delicacy, to obtain a share in the administration of affairs in the Low Countries; that he endeavored to thwart the emperor's measures and to limit his authority, behaving towards him sometimes with inattention and sometimes with haughtiness; that, Charles finding that he must either yield on every occasion to his son or openly contend with him, in order to avoid either of these, which were both disagreeable and mortifying to a father, he took the resolution of resigning his crowns and of retiring from the world. (Vol. i. p. 24, etc.) Dom Lévesque derived his information concerning these curious facts, which he relates very briefly, from the original papers of Cardinal Granvelle. But as that vast collection of papers, which has been preserved and arranged by M. l'Abbé Boizot of Besançon, though one of the most valuable historical monuments of the sixteenth century, and which cannot fail of throwing much light on the transactions of Charles V., is not published, I cannot determine what degree of credit should be given to this account of Charles's resignation. I have therefore taken no notice of it in relating this event.

this point were entirely removed, and that he thought he might place his son, without further hesitation or delay, on the throne which he himself was about to abandon. His mother's situation had been another obstruction in his way; for although she had continued almost fifty years in confinement, and under the same disorder of mind which concern for her husband's death had brought upon her, yet the government of Spain was still vested in her jointly with the emperor; her name was inserted together with his in all the public instruments issued in that kingdom; and such was the fond attachment of the Spaniards to her that they would probably have scrupled to recognize Philip as their sovereign unless she had consented to assume him as her partner on the throne. Her utter incapacity for business rendered it impossible to obtain her consent. But her death, which happened this year, removed this difficulty; and as Charles, upon that event, became sole monarch of Spain, it left the succession open to his son. The war with France had likewise been a reason for retaining the administration of affairs in his own hand, as he was extremely solicitous to have terminated it, that he might have given up his kingdoms to his son at peace with all the world. But as Henry had discovered no disposition to close with any of his overtures, and had even rejected proposals of peace which were equal and moderate, in a tone that seemed to indicate a fixed purpose of continuing hostilities, he saw that it was vain to wait longer in expectation of an event which, however desirable, was altogether uncertain.

As this, then, appeared to be the proper juncture for executing the scheme which he had long meditated, Charles resolved to resign his kingdoms to his son with a solemnity suitable to the importance of the transaction, and to perform this last act of sovereignty with such formal pomp as might leave a lasting impression on the minds not only of his subjects but of his successor. With this view he called Philip out of England, where the peevish temper of his queen, which increased with her despair of having issue, rendered him extremely unhappy, and the jealousy of the English left him no hopes of obtaining the direction of their affairs. Having assembled the states of the Low Countries at Brussels, on the twenty-fifth of October, Charles seated himself for the last time in the chair of state, on one side of which was placed his son, and on the other his sister, the queen of Hungary, regent of the Netherlands, with a splendid retinue of the princes of the empire and grandees of Spain standing behind him. The president of the council of Flanders, by his command, explained, in a few words, his intention in calling this extraordinary meeting of the states. He then read the instrument of resignation, by which Charles surrendered to his son Philip all his territories, jurisdiction, and authority in the Low Countries, absolving his subjects there from the oath of allegiance to him, which he required them to transfer to Philip, his lawful heir, and to serve him with the same loyalty and zeal which they had manifested, during so long a course of years, in support of his government.

Charles then rose from his seat, and, leaning on the shoulder of the prince of Orange, because he was unable to stand without support, he addressed himself to the audience, and from a paper which he held in his hand, in order to assist his memory, he recounted, with dignity, but without ostentation, all the great things which he had undertaken and performed since the commencement of his administration. He observed that from the seventeenth year of his age he had dedicated all his thoughts and attention to public objects, reserving no portion of his time for the indulgence of his ease, and very little for the enjoyment of private pleasure; that, either in a pacific or hostile manner, he had visited Germany nine times, Spain six times, France four times, Italy seven times, the Low Countries ten times, England twice, Africa as often, and had made eleven voyages by sea; that, while his health permitted him to discharge his duty, and the vigor of his constitution was equal in any degree to the arduous office of governing such extensive dominions, he had never shunned labor nor repined under fatigue; that now, when his health was broken, and his vigor exhausted by the rage of an incurable distemper, his growing infirmities admonished him to retire; nor was he so fond of reigning as to retain the sceptre in an impotent hand, which was no longer able to protect his subjects or to secure to them the happiness which he wished they should enjoy; that, instead of a sovereign worn out with diseases and scarcely half alive, he gave them one in the prime of life, accustomed already to govern, and

who added to the vigor of youth all the attention and sagacity of maturer years; that if during the course of a long administration he had committed any material error in government, or if, under the pressure of so many and great affairs and amidst the attention which he had been obliged to give to them, he had either neglected or injured any of his subjects, he now implored their forgiveness; that, for his part, he should ever retain a grateful sense of their fidelity and attachment, and would carry the remembrance of it along with him to the place of his retreat, as his sweetest consolation, as well as the best reward for all his services, and in his last prayers to Almighty God would pour forth his most earnest petitions for their welfare.

Then turning towards Philip, who fell on his knees and kissed his father's hand,—" If," says he, " I had left you by my death this rich inheritance, to which I have made such large additions, some regard would have been justly due to my memory on that account; but now, when I voluntarily resign to you what I might have still retained, I may well expect the warmest expressions of thanks on your part. With these, however, I dispense, and shall consider your concern for the welfare of your subjects, and your love of them, as the best and most acceptable testimony of your gratitude to me. It is in your power, by a wise and virtuous administration, to justify the extraordinary proof which I this day give of my paternal affection, and to demonstrate that you are worthy of the confidence which I repose in you. Preserve an inviolable regard for religion; main-

tain the Catholic faith in its purity; let the laws of your country be sacred in your eyes; encroach not on the rights and privileges of your people; and if the time should ever come when you shall wish to enjoy the tranquillity of private life, may you have a son endowed with such qualities that you can resign your sceptre to him with as much satisfaction as I give up mine to you."

As soon as Charles had finished this long address to his subjects and to their new sovereign, he sunk into the chair, exhausted and ready to faint with the fatigue of such an extraordinary effort. During his discourse the whole audience melted into tears, some from admiration of his magnanimity, others softened by the expressions of tenderness towards his son and of love to his people; and all were affected with the deepest sorrow at losing a sovereign who, during his administration, had distinguished the Netherlands, his native country, with particular marks of his regard and attachment.

Philip then arose from his knees, and, after returning thanks to his father, with a low and submissive voice, for the royal gift which his unexampled bounty had bestowed upon him, he addressed the assembly of the states, and, regretting his inability to speak the Flemish language with such facility as to express what he felt on this interesting occasion, as well as what he owed to his good subjects in the Netherlands, he begged that they would permit Granvelle, bishop of Arras, to deliver what he had given him in charge to speak in his name. Granvelle, in a long discourse, expa-

tiated on the zeal with which Philip was animated for the good of his subjects, on his resolution to devote all his time and talents to the promoting of their happiness, and on his intention to imitate his father's example in distinguishing the Netherlands with particular marks of his regard. Maës, a lawyer of great eloquence, replied, in the name of the states, with large professions of their fidelity and affection to their new sovereign.

Then Mary, queen-dowager of Hungary, resigned the regency with which she had been intrusted by her brother during the space of twenty-five years. Next day Philip, in presence of the states, took the usual oaths to maintain the rights and privileges of his subjects; and all the members, in their own name and in that of their constituents, swore allegiance to him.[43]

A few weeks after this transaction, Charles, in an assembly no less splendid, and with a ceremonial equally pompous, resigned to his son the crowns of Spain, with all the territories depending on them, both in the Old and in the New World. Of all these vast possessions he reserved nothing for himself but an annual pension of a hundred thousand crowns, to defray the charges of his family and to afford him a small sum for acts of beneficence and charity.[44]

[43] Godleveus, Relatio Abdicationis Car. V., ap. Goldast., Polit. Imper., p. 377.—Strada de Bello Belgico, lib. i. p. 5.

[44] The emperor's resignation is an event not only of such importance, but of such a nature, that the precise date of it one would expect should have been ascertained by historians with the greatest accuracy. There is, however, an amazing and unaccountable diversity among them with regard to this point. All agree that the deed by which Charles transferred to his son his dominions in the

As he had fixed on a place of retreat in Spain, hoping that the dryness and the warmth of the climate in that country might mitigate the violence of his disease, which had been much increased by the moisture of the air and the rigor of the winters in the Netherlands, he was extremely impatient to embark for that kingdom, and to disengage himself entirely from business, which he

Netherlands bears date at Brussels the 25th of October. Sandoval fixes on the 28th of October as the day on which the ceremony of resignation happened, and he was present at the transaction (vol. ii. p. 592). Godleveus, who published a treatise De Abdicatione Caroli V., fixes the public ceremony, as well as the date of the instrument of resignation, on the 25th. Père Barre, I know not on what authority, fixes it on the 24th of November. (Hist. d'Alem., viii. 976.) Herrera agrees with Godleveus in his account of this matter (tom. i. 155); as likewise does Pallavicini, whose authority with respect to dates, and every thing where a minute accuracy is requisite, is of great weight. (Hist., lib. xvi. p. 168.) Historians differ no less with regard to the day on which Charles resigned the crown of Spain to his son. According to M. de Thou, it was a month after his having resigned his dominions in the Netherlands,—*i.e.*, about the 25th of November. (Thuan., lib. xvi. p. 571.) According to Sandoval, it was on the 16th of January, 1556. (Sand., ii. 603.) Antonio de Vera agrees with him. (Epitome de la Vida de Car. V., p. 110.) According to Pallavicini, it was on the 17th (Pal., lib. xvi. p. 168); and with him Herrera agrees (Vida de D. Filipo, tom. i. p. 233). But Ferreras fixes it on the 1st day of January. (Hist. Génér., tom. ix. p. 371.) M. de Beaucaire supposes the resignation of the crown of Spain to have been executed a few days after the resignation of the Netherlands. (Com. de Reb. Gall., p. 879.) It is remarkable that in the treaty of truce at Vaucelles, though Charles had made over all his dominions to his son some weeks previous to the conclusion of it, all the stipulations are in the emperor's name, and Philip is only styled king of England and Naples. It is certain Philip was not proclaimed king of Castile, etc., at Valladolid sooner than the 24th of March (Sandov., ii. p. 606); and previous to that ceremony he did not choose, it should seem, to assume the title of king of any of his Spanish kingdoms, or to perform any act of royal jurisdiction. In a deed annexed to the treaty of truce, dated April 19, he assumes the title of king of Castile, etc., in the usual style of the Spanish monarchs in that age. Corps Diplom., tom. iv., Append., p. 85.

found to be impossible while he remained in Brussels. But his physicians remonstrated so strongly against his venturing to sea at that cold and boisterous season of the year, that he consented, though with reluctance, to put off his voyage for some months.

By yielding to their entreaties, he had the satisfaction, before he left the Low Countries, of taking a considerable step towards a peace with France, which he ardently wished for, not only on his son's account, but that he might have the merit, when quitting the world, of re-establishing that tranquillity in Europe which he had banished out of it almost from the time that he assumed the administration of affairs. Previous to his resignation, commissioners had been appointed by him and by the French king, in order to treat of an exchange of prisoners. In their conferences at the abbey of Vaucelles, near Cambray, an expedient was accidentally proposed for terminating hostilities between the contending monarchs by a long truce, during the subsistence of which, and without discussing their respective claims, each should retain what was now in his possession. Charles, sensible how much his kingdoms were exhausted by the expensive and almost continual wars in which his ambition had engaged him, and eager to gain for his son a short interval of peace, that he might establish himself firmly on his throne, declared warmly for closing with the overture, though manifestly dishonorable as well as disadvantageous; and such was the respect due to his wisdom and experience that Philip, notwith-

standing his unwillingness to purchase peace by such concessions, did not presume to urge his opinion in opposition to that of his father.

Henry could not have hesitated one moment about giving his consent to a truce on such conditions as would leave him in quiet possession of the greater part of the duke of Savoy's dominions, together with the important conquests which he had made on the German frontier. But it was no easy matter to reconcile such a step with the engagements which he had come under to the pope, in his late treaty with him. The Constable Montmorency, however, represented in such a striking light the imprudence of sacrificing the true interests of his kingdom to these rash obligations, and took such advantage of the absence of the cardinal of Lorraine, who had seduced the king into his alliance with the Caraffas, that Henry, who was naturally fluctuating and unsteady and apt to be influenced by the advice last given him, authorized his ambassadors to sign a treaty of truce with the emperor for five years, on the terms which had been proposed. But, that he might not seem to have altogether forgotten his ally the pope, who he foresaw would be highly exasperated, he, in order to soothe him, took care that he should be expressly included in the truce.[45]

The count of Lalain repaired to Blois, and the Admiral de Coligny to Brussels; the former to be present when the king of France, and the latter when the emperor and his son, ratified the treaty

[45] Mémoires de Ribier, ii. 626.—Corps Diplomatique, tom. iv., Appendix, 81.

and bound themselves by oath to observe it.[46] When an account of the conference at Vaucelles, and of the conditions of truce which had been proposed there, was first carried to Rome, it gave the pope no manner of disquiet. He trusted so much to the honor of the French monarch that he would not allow himself to think that Henry could forget so soon or violate so shamefully all the stipulations in his league with him. He had such a high opinion of the emperor's wisdom that he made no doubt of his refusing his consent to a truce on such unequal terms; and on both these accounts he confidently pronounced that this, like many preceding negotiations, would terminate in nothing. But later and more certain intelligence soon convinced him that no reasoning in political affairs is more fallacious than because an event is improbable to conclude that it will not happen. The sudden and unexpected conclusion of the truce filled Paul with astonishment and terror. The cardinal of Lorraine durst not encounter that storm of indignation to which he knew that he should be exposed from the haughty pontiff, who had so good reason to be incensed; but, departing abruptly from Rome, he left to the Cardinal Tournon the difficult task of attempting to soothe Paul and his nephews. They were fully sensible

[46] One of Admiral de Coligny's attendants, who wrote to the court of France an account of what happened while they resided at Brussels, takes notice, as an instance of Philip's unpoliteness, that he received the French ambassador in an apartment hung with tapestry which represented the battle of Pavia, the manner in which Francis I. was taken prisoner, his voyage to Spain, with all the mortifying circumstances of his captivity and imprisonment at Madrid. Mém. de Ribier, ii. 634.

of the perilous situation in which they now stood. By their engagements with France, which were no longer secret, they had highly irritated Philip. They dreaded the violence of his implacable temper. The duke of Alva, a minister fitted as well by his abilities as by the severity of his nature for executing all Philip's rigorous schemes, had advanced from Milan to Naples, and began to assemble troops on the frontiers of the ecclesiastical state; while they, if deserted by France, must not only relinquish all the hopes of dominion and sovereignty to which their ambition aspired, but remain exposed to the resentment of the Spanish monarch, without one ally to protect them against an enemy with whom they were so little able to contend.

Under these circumstances, Paul had recourse to the arts of negotiation and intrigue, of which the papal court knows well how to avail itself in order to ward off any calamity threatened by an enemy superior in power. He affected to approve highly of the truce, as a happy expedient for putting a stop to the effusion of Christian blood. He expressed his warmest wishes that it might prove the forerunner of a definitive peace. He exhorted the rival princes to embrace this favorable opportunity of setting on foot a negotiation for that purpose, and offered, as their common father, to be mediator between them. Under this pretext, he appointed Cardinal Rebiba his nuncio to the court of Brussels, and his nephew, Cardinal Caraffa, to that of Paris. The public instructions given to both were the same; that they should use their

utmost endeavors to prevail with the two monarchs to accept of the pope's mediation, that by means of it peace might be re-established and measures might be taken for assembling a general council. But under this specious appearance of zeal for attaining objects so desirable in themselves, and so becoming his sacred character to pursue, Paul concealed very different intentions. Caraffa, besides his public instructions, received a private commission to solicit the French king to renounce the treaty of truce and to renew his engagements with the holy see; and he was empowered to spare neither entreaties, nor promises, nor bribes, in order to gain that point. This both the uncle and the nephew considered as the real end of the embassy, while the other served to amuse the vulgar or to deceive the emperor and his son. The cardinal, accordingly, set out instantly for Paris, and travelled with the greatest expedition, whilst Rebiba was detained some weeks at Rome; and when it became necessary for him to begin his journey he received secret orders to protract it as much as possible, that the issue of Caraffa's negotiation might be known before he should reach Brussels, and, according to that, proper directions might be given to him with regard to the tone which he should assume in treating with the emperor and his son.[47]

Caraffa made his entry into Paris with extraordinary pomp; and, having presented a consecrated sword to Henry, as the protector on whose aid the pope relied in the present exigency, he

[47] Pallav., lib. xiii. p. 169.—Burnet, Hist. Reform., ii., App., 309.

besought him not to disregard the entreaties of a parent in distress, but to employ that weapon which he gave him in his defence. This he represented not only as a duty of filial piety, but as an act of justice. As the pope, from confidence in the assistance and support which his late treaty with France entitled him to expect, had taken such steps as had irritated the king of Spain, he conjured Henry not to suffer Paul and his family to be crushed under the weight of that resentment which they had drawn on themselves merely by their attachment to France. Together with this argument addressed to his generosity, he employed another which he hoped would work on his ambition. He affirmed that now was the time when with the most certain prospect of success he might attack Philip's dominions in Italy; that the flower of the veteran Spanish bands had perished in the wars of Hungary, Germany, and the Low Countries; that the emperor had left his son an exhausted treasury, and kingdoms drained of men; that he had no longer to contend with the abilities, the experience, and good fortune of Charles, but with a monarch scarcely seated on his throne, unpractised in command, odious to many of the Italian states, and dreaded by all. He promised that the pope, who had already levied soldiers, would bring a considerable army into the field, which, when joined by a sufficient number of French troops, might by one brisk and sudden effort drive the Spaniards out of Naples and add to the crown of France a kingdom the conquest of which had been the great object of all his predecessors during

half a century and the chief motive of all their expeditions into Italy.

Every word Caraffa spoke made a deep impression on Henry; conscious, on the one hand, that the pope had just cause to reproach him with having violated the laws not only of generosity but of decency when he renounced his league with him and had agreed to the truce of Vaucelles, and eager, on the other hand, not only to distinguish his reign by a conquest which three former monarchs had attempted without success, but likewise to acquire an establishment of such dignity and value for one of his sons. Reverence, however, for the oath by which he had so lately confirmed the truce of Vaucelles, the extreme old age of the pope, whose death might occasion an entire revolution in the political system of Italy, together with the representations of Montmorency, who repeated all the arguments he had used against the first league with Paul, and pointed out the great and immediate advantages which France derived from the truce, kept Henry for some time in suspense, and might possibly have outweighed all Caraffa's arguments. But the cardinal was not such a novice in the arts of intrigue and negotiation as not to have expedients ready for removing or surmounting all these obstacles. To obviate the king's scruple with regard to his oath, he produced powers from the pope to absolve him from the obligation of it. By way of security against any danger which he might apprehend from the pope's death, he engaged that his uncle would make such a nomination of cardinals as should give Henry the abso-

lute command of the next election, and enable him to place in the papal chair a person entirely devoted to his interest.

In order to counterbalance the effect of the constable's opinion and influence, he employed not only the active talents of the duke of Guise, and the eloquence of his brother, the cardinal of Lorraine, but the address of the queen, aided by the more powerful arts of Diana of Poitiers, who, unfortunately for France, co-operated with Catharine in this point, though she took pleasure on almost every other occasion to thwart and mortify her. They, by their united solicitations, easily swayed the king, who leaned of his own accord to that side towards which they wished him to incline. All Montmorency's prudent remonstrances were disregarded; the nuncio absolved Henry from his oath; and he signed a new league with the pope, which rekindled the flames of war both in Italy and in the Low Countries.

As soon as Paul was informed by his nephew that there was a fair prospect of his succeeding in this negotiation, he despatched a messenger after the nuncio Rebiba, with orders to return to Rome, without proceeding to Brussels. As it was now no longer necessary to preserve that tone of moderation which suited the character of a mediator and which he had affected to assume, or to put any farther restraint upon his resentment against Philip, he boldly threw off the mask, and took such violent steps as rendered a rupture unavoidable. He seized and imprisoned the Spanish envoy at his court. He excommunicated the Colonnas; and

having deprived Marco Antonio, the head of that family, of the dukedom of Paliano, he granted that dignity, together with the territory annexed to it, to his nephew, the count of Montorio. He ordered a legal informaion to be presented in the consistory of cardinals against Philip, setting forth that he, notwithstanding the fidelity and allegiance due by him to the holy see, of which he held the kingdom of Naples, had not only afforded a retreat in his dominions to the Colonnas, whom the pope had excommunicated and declared rebels, but had furnished them with arms, and was ready, in conjunction with them, to invade the ecclesiastical state in a hostile manner; that such conduct in a vassal was to be deemed treason against his liege-lord, the punishment of which was the forfeiture of his fief. Upon this, the consistorial advocate requested the pope to take cognizance of the cause, and to appoint a day for hearing of it, when he would make good every article of the charge, and expect from his justice that sentence which the heinousness of Philip's crimes merited. Paul, whose pride was highly flattered with the idea of trying and passing judgment on so great a king, assented to his request, and, as if it had been no less easy to execute than to pronounce such a sentence, declared that he would consult with the cardinals concerning the formalities requisite in conducting the trial.[48]

But, while Paul allowed his pride and resentment to drive him on with such headlong impetuosity, Philip discovered an amazing moderation on

[48] Pallav., lib. xiii. 171.

his part. He had been taught, by the Spanish ecclesiastics who had the charge of his education, a profound veneration for the holy see. This sentiment, which had been early infused, grew up with him as he advanced in years, and took full possession of his mind, which was naturally thoughtful, serious, and prone to superstition. When he foresaw a rupture with the pope approaching, he had such violent scruples with respect to the lawfulness of taking arms against the vicegerent of Christ and the common father of all Christians that he consulted some Spanish divines upon that point. They, with the usual dexterity of casuists in accommodating their responses to the circumstances of those who apply to them for direction, assured him that, after employing prayers and remonstrances in order to bring the pope to reason, he had full right, both by the laws of nature and of Christianity, not only to defend himself when attacked, but to begin hostilities, if that were judged the most proper expedient for preventing the effects of Paul's violence and injustice. Philip nevertheless continued to deliberate and delay, considering it as a most cruel misfortune that his administration should open with an attack on a person whose sacred function and character he so highly respected.[49]

At last the duke of Alva, who, in compliance with his master's scruples, had continued to negotiate long after he should have begun to act, finding Paul inexorable, and that every overture of peace and every appearance of hesitation on his

[49] Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, ix. 373.—Herrera, i. 308.

part increased the pontiff's natural arrogance, took the field and entered the ecclesiastical territories. His army did not exceed twelve thousand men; but it was composed of veteran soldiers, and commanded chiefly by those Roman barons whom Paul's violence had driven into exile. The valor of the troops, together with the animosity of their leaders, who fought in their own quarrel and to recover their own estates, supplied the want of numbers. As none of the French forces were yet arrived, Alva soon became master of the Campagna Romana; some cities being surrendered through the cowardice of the garrisons, which consisted of raw soldiers, ill disciplined and worse commanded; the gates of others being opened by the inhabitants, who were eager to receive back their ancient masters. Alva, that he might not be taxed with impiety in seizing the patrimony of the Church, took possession of the towns which capitulated, in the name of the college of cardinals, to which, or to the pope that should be chosen to succeed Paul, he declared that he would immediately restore them.

The rapid progress of the Spaniards, whose light troops made excursions even to the gates of Rome, filled that city with consternation. Paul, though inflexible and undaunted himself, was obliged to give way so far to the fears and solicitations of the cardinals as to send deputies to Alva, in order to propose a cessation of arms. The pope yielded the more readily as he was sensible of a double advantage which might be derived from obtaining that point. It would deliver the inhabi-

tants of Rome from their present terror, and would afford time for the arrival of the succors which he expected from France. Nor was Alva unwilling to close with the overture, both as he knew how desirous his master was to terminate a war which he had undertaken with reluctance, and as his army was so much weakened by garrisoning the great number of towns which he had reduced that it was hardly in a condition to keep the field without fresh recruits. A truce was accordingly concluded, first for ten and afterwards for forty days, during which various schemes of peace were proposed and perpetual negotiations were carried on, but with no sincerity on the part of the pope. The return of his nephew the cardinal to Rome, the receipt of a considerable sum remitted by the king of France, the arrival of one body of French troops, together with the expectation of others which had begun their march, rendered him more arrogant than ever, and banished all thoughts from his mind but those of war and revenge.[50]

[50] Pallav., lib. xiii. 177.—Thuan., lib. xvii. 588.—Mém. de Ribier, ii. 664.

BOOK XII

New and fruitless Attempt of the Emperor to procure the Succession for his Son, Philip—He sets out for Spain—His Retreat at St. Justus—The Pope renews Hostilities against Philip—Duke of Guise's Operations—Philip gains the Aid of England—The War in the Netherlands—Siege of St. Quentin—Measures of Henry for the Defence of France—Peace between the Pope and Philip—Placentia restored to the Duke of Parma—Cosmo de' Medici recovers Siena—The Duke of Guise invests and takes Calais—Ferdinand chosen Successor to the Emperor, but is not acknowledged by the Pope—Marriage of the Dauphin and the Queen of Scots—Defeat of the French at Gravelines—Proposals for Peace—Death of Charles V.—Death of Mary of England—Both Henry and Philip court her Successor, Elizabeth—Her Artifice towards Philip—Articles of Peace agreed upon—Death of Henry—State of Europe during the Reign of Charles V.—Progress of the House of Austria—Growth of France, and of England—The Reformation—State of Venice and other Italian Nations;—of Russia, and the Northern Powers

WHILE these operations or intrigues kept the pope and Philip busy and attentive, the emperor disentangled himself finally from all the affairs of this world, and set out for the place of his retreat. He had hitherto retained the imperial dignity, not from any unwillingness to relinquish it, for, after having resigned the real and extensive authority that he enjoyed in his hereditary dominions, to part with the limited and often ideal jurisdiction which belongs to an elective crown was no great sacrifice. His sole motive for delay was to gain a few months, for making one trial more in order to accomplish his favorite scheme in behalf of his son. At the very time Charles seemed to be most sensible of the vanity of worldly grandeur,

and when he appeared to be quitting it not only with indifference but with contempt, the vast schemes of ambition which had so long occupied and engrossed his mind still kept possession of it. He could not think of leaving his son in a rank inferior to that which he himself had held among the princes of Europe. As he had, some years before, made a fruitless attempt to secure the imperial crown to Philip, that by uniting it to the kingdoms of Spain and the dominions of the house of Burgundy he might put it in his power to prosecute with a better prospect of success those great plans which his own infirmities had obliged him to abandon, he was still unwilling to relinquish this flattering project as chimerical or unattainable.

Notwithstanding the repulse which he had formerly met with from his brother Ferdinand, he renewed his solicitations with fresh importunity, and during the summer had tried every art and employed every argument which he thought could induce him to quit the imperial throne to Philip, and to accept of the investiture of some province, either in Italy or in the Low Countries, as an equivalent.[1] But Ferdinand, who was so firm and inflexible with regard to this point that he had paid no regard to the solicitations of the emperor even when they were enforced with all the weight of authority which accompanies supreme power, received the overture that now came from him, in the situation to which he had descended, with great indifference, and would hardly deign to listen to it. Charles, ashamed of his own credulity in having

[1] Ambassades de Noailles, tom. v. 356.

imagined that he might accomplish that now which he had attempted formerly without success, desisted finally from his scheme. He then resigned the government of the empire, and, having transferred all his claims of obedience and allegiance from the Germanic body to his brother the king of the Romans, he executed a deed to that effect, with all the formalities requisite in such an important transaction. The instrument of resignation he committed to William, prince of Orange, and empowered him to lay it before the college of electors.[2]

Nothing now remained to detain Charles from that retreat for which he languished. The preparations for his voyage having been made for some time, he set out for Zuitburg in Zealand, where the fleet which was to convoy him had orders to assemble. In his way thither he passed through Ghent, and, after stopping there a few days, to indulge that tender and pleasing melancholy which arises in the mind of every man in the decline of life on visiting the place of his nativity and viewing the scenes and objects familiar to him in his early youth, he pursued his journey, accompanied by his son Philip, his daughter the archduchess, his sisters the dowager queens of France and Hungary, Maximilian his son-in-law, and a numerous retinue of the Flemish nobility. Before he went on board, he dismissed them, with marks of his attention or regard, and, taking leave of Philip with all the tenderness of a father who embraced his son for the last time, he set sail on the

[2] Goldast., Constit. Imper., par. i. 576.

seventeenth of September, under the convoy of a large fleet of Spanish, Flemish, and English ships. He declined a pressing invitation from the queen of England to land in some part of her dominions, in order to refresh himself and that she might have the comfort of seeing him once more. "It cannot surely," said he, "be agreeable to a queen to receive a visit from a father-in-law who is now nothing more than a private gentleman."

His voyage was prosperous, and he arrived at Laredo, in Biscay, on the eleventh day after he left Zealand. As soon as he landed, he fell prostrate on the ground; and, considering himself now as dead to the world, he kissed the earth, and said, "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked I now return to thee, thou common mother of mankind." From Laredo he pursued his journey to Burgos, carried sometimes in a chair and sometimes in a horse-litter, suffering exquisite pain at every step, and advancing with the greatest difficulty. Some of the Spanish nobility repaired to Burgos in order to pay court to him; but they were so few in number, and their attendance was so negligent, that Charles observed it, and felt, for the first time, that he was no longer a monarch. Accustomed from his early youth to the dutiful and officious respect with which those who possess sovereign power are attended, he had received it with the credulity common to princes, and was sensibly mortified when he now discovered that he had been indebted to his rank and power for much of that obsequious regard which he had fondly thought was paid to his personal qualities.

But, though he might have soon learned to view with unconcern the levity of his subjects or to have despised their neglect, he was more deeply afflicted with the ingratitude of his son, who, forgetting already how much he owed to his father's bounty, obliged him to remain some weeks at Burgos before he paid him the first moiety of that small pension which was all that he had reserved of so many kingdoms. As without this sum Charles could not dismiss his domestics with such rewards as their services merited or his generosity had destined for them, he could not help expressing both surprise and dissatisfaction.[3] At last the money was paid, and Charles having dismissed a great number of his domestics, whose attendance he thought would be superfluous or cumbersome in his retirement, he proceeded to Valladolid. There he took a last and tender leave of his two sisters, whom he would not permit to accompany him to his solitude, though they requested him with tears, not only that they might have the consolation of contributing, by their attendance and care, to mitigate or to soothe his sufferings, but that they might reap instruction and benefit by joining with him in those pious exercises to which he had consecrated the remainder of his days.

From Valladolid he continued his journey to Plasencia, in Estremadura. He had passed through this place a great many years before, and having been struck at that time with the delightful situation of the monastery of St. Justus, belonging to the order of St. Jerome, not many miles dis-

[3] Strado de Bello Belg., lib. i. 9.

tant from the town, he had then observed to some of his attendants that this was a spot to which Diocletian might have retired with pleasure. The impression had remained so strong on his mind that he pitched upon it as the place of his own retreat. It was seated in a vale of no great extent, watered by a small brook, and surrounded by rising grounds, covered with lofty trees: from the nature of the soil, as well as the temperature of the climate, it was esteemed the most healthful and delicious situation in Spain. Some months before his resignation he had sent an architect thither, to add a new apartment to the monastery for his accommodation; but he gave strict orders that the style of the building should be such as suited his present station, rather than his former dignity. It consisted only of six rooms, four of them in the form of friars' cells, with naked walls; the other two, each twenty feet square, were hung with brown cloth and furnished in the most simple manner. They were all on a level with the ground, with a door on one side into a garden, of which Charles himself had given the plan and had filled it with various plants which he intended to cultivate with his own hands. On the other side they communicated with the chapel of the monastery, in which he was to perform his devotions. Into this humble retreat, hardly sufficient for the comfortable accommodation of a private gentleman, did Charles enter with twelve domestics only. He buried there, in solitude and silence, his grandeur, his ambition, together with all those vast projects which during almost half a century had alarmed

and agitated Europe, filling every kingdom in it, by turns, with the terror of his arms and the dread of being subdued by his power.[4]

The contrast between Charles's conduct and that of the pope at this juncture was so obvious that it struck even the most careless observers; nor was the comparison which they made to the advantage of Paul. The former, a conqueror, born to reign, long accustomed to the splendor which accompanies supreme power, and to those busy and interesting scenes in which an active ambition had engaged him, quitted the world at a period of life not far advanced, that he might close the evening of his days in tranquillity and secure some interval for sober thought and serious recollection. The latter, a priest who had passed the early part of his life in the shade of the schools and in the study of the speculative sciences, who was seemingly so detached from the world that he had shut himself up for many years in the solitude of a cloister, and who was not raised to the papal throne until he had reached the extremity of old age, discovered at once all the impetuosity of youthful ambition, and formed extensive schemes, in order to accomplish which he scrupled not to scatter the seeds of discord and to kindle the flames of war in every corner of Europe. But Paul, regardless of the opinion or censures of mankind, held on his own course with his wonted arrogance and violence. These, although they seemed already to have exceeded all bounds, rose to a still greater height upon the arrival of the duke of Guise in Italy.

[4] Sandov., ii. 607, et Zuñiga, 100.—Thuan., lib. xvii. 609.

That which the two princes of Lorraine foresaw and desired had happened. The duke of Guise was intrusted with the command of the army appointed to march to the pope's assistance. It consisted of twenty thousand men of the best troops in the service of France. So high was the duke's reputation, and such the general expectation of beholding some extraordinary exertion of his courage and abilities, in a war into which he had precipitated his country chiefly with the design of obtaining a field where he might display his own talents, that many of the French nobility, who had no command in the troops employed, accompanied him as volunteers. This army passed the Alps in an inclement season, and advanced towards Rome without any opposition from the Spaniards, who, as they were not strong enough to act in different parts, had collected all their forces into one body on the frontiers of Naples, for the defence of that kingdom.

Emboldened by the approach of the French, the pope let loose all the fury of his resentment against Philip, which, notwithstanding the natural violence of his temper, prudential considerations had hitherto obliged him to keep under some restraint. He named commissioners, whom he empowered to pass judgment in the suit which the consistorial advocate had commenced against Philip in order to prove that he had forfeited the crown of Naples by taking arms against the holy see, of which he was a vassal. He recalled all the nuncios resident in the courts of Charles V., of Philip, or of any of their allies. This was levelled chiefly

against Cardinal Pole, the papal legate in the court of England, whose great merit in having contributed so successfully to reconcile that kingdom to the Church of Rome, together with the expectation of farther services which he might perform, was not sufficient to screen him from the resentment that he had incurred by his zealous endeavors to establish peace between the house of Austria and France. He commanded an addition to be made to the anathemas annually denounced against the enemies of the Church on Maundy-Thursday, whereby he inflicted the censure of excommunication on the authors of the late invasion of the ecclesiastical territories, whatever their rank or dignity might be; and in consequence of this the usual prayers for the emperor were omitted next day in the pope's chapel.[5]

But, while the pope indulged himself in these wild and childish sallies of rage, either he neglected, or found that it exceeded his power, to take such measures as would have rendered his resentment really formidable and fatal to his enemies. For when the duke of Guise entered Rome, where he was received with a triumphal pomp which would have been more suitable if he had been returning after having terminated the war with glory than when he was going to begin it with a doubtful chance of success, he found none of the preparations for war in such forwardness as Cardinal Caraffa had promised or he had expected. The papal troops were far inferior in number to the quota stipulated; no magazines sufficient for

[5] Pallav., lib. xiii. 180.—Mém. de Ribier, ii. 678.

their subsistence were formed; nor was money for paying them provided. The Venetians, agreeably to that cautious maxim which the misfortunes of their state had first led them to adopt, and which was now become a fundamental principle in their policy, declared their resolution to preserve an exact neutrality, without taking any part in the quarrels of princes so far superior to themselves in power. The other Italian states were either openly united in league with Philip, or secretly wished success to his arms against a pontiff whose inconsiderate ambition had rendered Italy once more the seat of war.

The duke of Guise perceived that the whole weight of the war would devolve on the French troops under his command, and became sensible, though too late, how imprudent it is to rely, in the execution of great enterprises, on the aid of feeble allies. Pushed on, however, by the pope's impatience for action, as well as by his own desire of performing some part of what he had so confidently undertaken, he marched towards Naples and began his operations. But the success of these fell far short of his former reputation, of what the world expected, and of what he himself had promised. He opened the campaign with the siege of Civitella, a town of some importance on the Neapolitan frontier. But the obstinacy with which the Spanish governor defended it baffled all the impetuous efforts of the French valor, and obliged the duke of Guise, after a siege of three weeks, to retire from the town with disgrace. He endeavored to wipe off that stain by advancing boldly

towards the duke of Alva's camp and offering him battle. But that prudent commander, sensible of all the advantages of standing on the defensive before an invading enemy, declined an engagement and kept within his intrenchments, and, adhering to his plan with the steadiness of a Castilian, eluded, with great address, all the duke of Guise's stratagems to draw him into action.[6] By this time sickness began to waste the French army; violent dissensions had arisen between the duke of Guise and the commander of the pope's forces; the Spaniards renewed their incursions into the ecclesiastical state; the pope, when he found, instead of the conquests and triumph which he had fondly expected, that he could not secure his own territories from depredation, murmured, complained, and began to talk of peace. The duke of Guise, mortified to the last degree with having acted such an inglorious part, not only solicited his court either to reinforce his army or to recall him, but urged Paul to fulfil his engagements, and called on Cardinal Caraffa, sometimes with reproaches, sometimes with threats, to make good those magnificent promises from a rash confidence in which he had advised his master to renounce the truce of Vaucelles and to join in league with the pope.[7]

But, while the French affairs in Italy were in this wretched situation, an unexpected event happened in the Low Countries, which called the duke

[6] Herrera, Vida de Filipo, 181.

[7] Thuan., lib. xxviii. 614.—Pallav., lib. xiii. 181.—Burnet., ii., App., 317.

of Guise from a station wherein he could acquire no honor, to the most dignified and important charge which could be committed to a subject. As soon as the French had discovered their purpose of violating the truce of Vaucelles, not only by sending an army into Italy but by attempting to surprise some of the frontier towns in Flanders, Philip, though willing to have avoided a rupture, determined to prosecute the war with such spirit as should make his enemies sensible that his father had not erred when he judged him to be so capable of government that he had given up the reins into his hands. As he knew that Henry had been at great expense in fitting out the army under the duke of Guise, and that his treasury was hardly able to answer the exorbitant and endless demands of a distant war, he foresaw that all his operations in the Low Countries must of consequence prove feeble, and be considered only as secondary to those in Italy. For that reason, he prudently resolved to make his principal effort in that place where he expected the French to be weakest, and to bend his chief force against that quarter where they would feel a blow most sensibly. With this view, he assembled in the Low Countries an army of about fifty thousand men, the Flemings serving him on this occasion with that active zeal which subjects are wont to exert in obeying the first commands of a new sovereign. But Philip, cautious and provident even at that early period of life, did not rest all his hopes of success on that formidable force alone.

He had been laboring for some time to engage

the English to espouse his quarrel; and, though it was manifestly the interest of that kingdom to maintain a strict neutrality, and the people themselves were sensible of the advantages which they derived from it, though he knew how odious his name was to the English and how averse they would be to co-operate with him in any measure, he nevertheless did not despair of accomplishing his point. He relied on the affection with which the queen doted on him, which was so violent that even his coldness and neglect had not extinguished it; he knew her implicit reverence for his opinion, and her fond desire of gratifying him in every particular. That he might work on these with greater facility and more certain success, he set out for England. The queen, who during her husband's absence had languished in perpetual dejection, resumed fresh spirits on his arrival, and, without paying the least attention either to the interest or to the inclinations of her people, entered warmly into all his schemes. In vain did her privy council remonstrate against the imprudence as well as danger of involving the nation in an unnecessary war; in vain did they put her in mind of the solemn treaties of peace subsisting between England and France, which the conduct of that nation had afforded her no pretext to violate. Mary, soothed by Philip's caresses, or intimidated by the threats which his ascendant over her emboldened him at some times to throw out, was deaf to every thing that could be urged in opposition to his sentiments, and insisted with the greatest vehemence on an immediate declaration of war against France.

The council, though all Philip's address and Mary's authority were employed to gain or overawe them, after struggling long, yielded at last, not from conviction, but merely from deference to the will of their sovereign. War was declared against France, the only one perhaps against that kingdom into which the English ever entered with reluctance. As Mary knew the aversion of the nation to this measure, she durst not call a parliament in order to raise money for carrying on the war. She supplied this want, however, by a stretch of royal prerogative not unusual in that age, and levied large sums on her subjects by her own authority. This enabled her to assemble a sufficient body of troops, and to send eight thousand men, under the conduct of the earl of Pembroke, to join Philip's army.[8]

Philip, who was not ambitious of military glory, gave the command of his army to Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, and fixed his own residence at Cambray, that he might be at hand to receive the earliest intelligence of his motions and to aid him with his counsels. The duke opened the campaign with a masterly stroke of address, which justified Philip's choice and discovered such a superiority of genius over the French generals as almost insured success in his subsequent operations. He appointed the general rendezvous of his troops at a place considerably distant from the country which he destined to be the scene of action; and, having kept the enemy in suspense for a good time with regard to his intentions, he at last deceived them so

[8] Carte, iii. 337.

effectually by the variety of his marches and countermarches as led them to conclude that he meant to bend all his force against the province of Champagne and would attempt to penetrate into the kingdom on that side. In consequence of this opinion, they drew all their strength towards that quarter, and, reinforcing the garrisons there, left the towns on other parts of the frontier destitute of troops sufficient to defend them.

The duke of Savoy, as soon as he perceived that this feint had its full effect, turned suddenly to the right, advanced by rapid marches into Picardy, and, sending his cavalry, in which he was extremely strong, before him, invested St. Quentin. This was a town deemed in that age of considerable strength, and of great importance, as there were few fortified cities between it and Paris. The fortifications, however, had been much neglected; the garrison, weakened by drafts sent towards Champagne, did not amount to a fifth part of the number requisite for its defence; and the governor, though a brave officer, was neither of rank nor authority equal to the command in a place of so much consequence, besieged by such a formidable army. A few days must have put the duke of Savoy in possession of the town, if the Admiral de Coligny, who thought it concerned his honor to attempt saving a place of such importance to his country, and which lay within his jurisdiction as governor of Picardy, had not taken the gallant resolution of throwing himself into it with such a body of men as he could collect on a sudden. This resolution he executed with great intrepidity, and,

ST. QUENTIN TAKEN BY ASSAULT

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Goupil & Cie Paris

if the nature of the enterprise be considered, with no contemptible success; for, though one-half of his small body of troops was cut off, he with the other broke through the enemy and entered the town. The unexpected arrival of an officer of such high rank and reputation, and who had exposed himself to such danger in order to join them, inspired the desponding garrison with courage. Every thing that the admiral's great skill and experience in the art of war could suggest for annoying the enemy or defending the town was attempted; and the citizens as well as the garrison, seconding his zeal with equal ardor, seemed to be determined that they would hold out to the last, and sacrifice themselves in order to save their country.[9]

The duke of Savoy, whom the English, under the earl of Pembroke, joined about this time, pushed on the siege with the greatest vigor. An army so numerous, and so well supplied with every thing requisite, carried on its approaches with great advantage against a garrison which was still so feeble that it durst seldom venture to disturb or retard the enemy's operations by sallies. The admiral, sensible of the approaching danger, and unable to avert it, acquainted his uncle, the Constable Montmorency, who had the command of the French army, with his situation, and pointed out to him a method by which he might throw relief into the town. The constable, solicitous to save a town the loss of which would open a passage for the enemy into the heart of France, and eager to

[9] Thuan., lib. xix. 647.

extricate his nephew out of that perilous situation in which zeal for the public had engaged him, resolved, though aware of the danger, to attempt what he desired. With this view, he marched from La Fère towards St. Quentin at the head of his army, which was not by one-half so numerous as that of the enemy, and having given the command of a body of chosen men to Coligny's brother, Dandelot, who was colonel-general of the French infantry, he ordered him to force his way into the town by that avenue which the admiral had represented as most practicable, while he himself, with the main army, would give the alarm to the enemy's camp on the opposite side and endeavor to draw all their attention towards that quarter. Dandelot executed his orders with greater intrepidity than conduct. He rushed on with such headlong impetuosity that, though it broke the first body of the enemy which stood in his way, it threw his own soldiers into the utmost confusion; and as they were attacked in that situation by fresh troops, which closed in upon them on every side, the greater part of them were cut in pieces, Dandelot, with about five hundred of the most adventurous and most fortunate, making good his entrance into the town.

Meanwhile, the constable, in executing his part of the plan, advanced so near the camp of the besiegers as rendered it impossible to retreat with safety in the face of an enemy so much superior in number. The duke of Savoy instantly perceived Montmorency's error, and prepared, with the presence of mind and abilities of a great gen-

eral, to avail himself of it. He drew up his army in order of battle with the greatest expedition, and, watching the moment when the French began to file off towards La Fère, he detached all his cavalry, under the command of the count of Egmont, to fall on their rear, while he himself, at the head of his infantry, advanced to support him. The French retired at first in perfect order and with a good countenance; but when they saw Egmont draw near with his formidable body of cavalry, the shock of which they were conscious that they could not withstand, the prospect of imminent danger, added to distrust of their general, whose imprudence every soldier now perceived, struck them with general consternation. They began insensibly to quicken their pace, and those in the rear pressed so violently on such as were before them that in a short time their march resembled a flight rather than a retreat. Egmont, observing their confusion, charged them with the greatest fury, and in a moment all their men-at-arms, the pride and strength of the French troops in that age, gave way, and fled with precipitation. The infantry, however, whom the constable, by his presence and authority, kept to their colors, still continued to retreat in good order, until the enemy brought some pieces of cannon to bear upon their centre, which threw them into such confusion that the Flemish cavalry, renewing their attack, broke in, and the rout became universal. About four thousand of the French fell in the field, and among these the duke of Enghien, a prince of the blood, together with six hundred gentlemen. The

constable, as soon as he perceived the fortune of the day to be irretrievable, rushed into the thickest of the enemy, with a resolution not to survive the calamity which his ill conduct had brought upon his country; but having received a dangerous wound, and being wasted with the loss of blood, he was surrounded by some Flemish officers to whom he was known, who protected him from the violence of the soldiers and obliged him to surrender. Besides the constable, the dukes of Montpensier and Longueville, the Maréchal St. André, many officers of distinction, three hundred gentlemen, and near four thousand private soldiers, were taken prisoners. All the colors belonging to the infantry, all the ammunition, and all the cannon, two pieces excepted, fell into the enemy's hands. The victorious army did not lose above fourscore men.[10]

This battle, no less fatal to France than the ancient victories of Crecy and Agincourt, gained by the English on the same frontier, bore a near resemblance to those disastrous events, in the suddenness of the rout, in the ill conduct of the commander-in-chief, in the number of persons of note slain or taken, and in the small loss sustained by the enemy. It filled France with equal consternation. Many inhabitants of Paris, with the same precipitancy and trepidation as if the enemy had been already at their gates, quitted the city and retired into the interior provinces. The king, by his presence and exhortations, endeavored to console and to animate such as remained, and, apply-

[10] Thuan., 650.—Haræi Annal. Brabant., ii. 692.—Herrera, 298.

ing himself with the greatest diligence to repair the ruinous fortifications of the city, prepared to defend it against the attack which he instantly expected. But, happily for France, Philip's caution, together with the intrepid firmness of the Admiral de Coligny, not only saved the capital from the danger to which it was exposed, but gained the nation a short interval, during which the people recovered from the terror and dejection occasioned by a blow no less severe than unexpected, and Henry had leisure to take measures for the public security, with the spirit which became the sovereign of a powerful and martial people.

Philip, immediately after the battle, visited the camp at St. Quentin, where he was received with all the exultation of military triumph; and such were his transports of joy on account of an event which threw so much lustre on the beginning of his reign, that they softened his severe and haughty temper into an unusual flow of courtesy. When the duke of Savoy approached, and was kneeling to kiss his hands, he caught him in his arms, and, embracing him with warmth, "It becomes me," says he, "rather to kiss your hands, which have gained me such a glorious and almost bloodless victory."

As soon as the rejoicings and congratulations on Philip's arrival were over, a council of war was held, in order to determine how they might improve their victory to the best advantage. The duke of Savoy, seconded by several of the ablest officers formed under Charles V., insisted that they should immediately relinquish the siege of

St. Quentin, the reduction of which was now an object below their attention, and advance directly towards Paris; that, as there were neither troops to oppose nor any town of strength to retard their march, they might reach that capital while under the full impression of the astonishment and terror occasioned by the rout of the army, and take possession of it without resistance. But Philip, less adventurous or more prudent than his generals, preferred a moderate but certain advantage to an enterprise of greater splendor but of more doubtful success. He represented to the council the infinite resources of a kingdom so powerful as France, the great number as well as martial spirit of its nobles, their attachment to their sovereign, the manifold advantages with which they could carry on war in their own territories, and the unavoidable destruction which must be the consequence of their penetrating too rashly into the enemy's country, before they had secured such a communication with their own as might render a retreat safe, if upon any disastrous event that measure should become necessary. On all these accounts, he advised the continuance of the siege, and his generals acquiesced the more readily in his opinion as they made no doubt of being masters of the town in a few days, a loss of time of so little consequence in the execution of their plan that they might easily repair it by their subsequent activity.[11]

The weakness of the fortifications, and the small number of the garrison, which could no

[11] Belcar., Commentar. de Reb. Gallic., 901.

longer hope either for reinforcement or relief, seemed to authorize this calculation of Philip's generals. But in making it they did not attend sufficiently to the character of Admiral de Coligny, who commanded in the town. A courage undismayed and tranquil amidst the greatest dangers, an invention fruitful in resources, a genius which roused and seemed to acquire new force upon every disaster, a talent of governing the minds of men, together with a capacity of maintaining his ascendant over them even under circumstances the most adverse and distressful, were qualities which Coligny possessed in a degree superior to any general of that age. These qualities were peculiarly adapted to the station in which he was now placed; and, as he knew the infinite importance to his country of every hour which he could gain at this juncture, he exerted himself to the utmost in contriving how to protract the siege and to detain the enemy from attempting any enterprise more dangerous to France. Such were the perseverance and skill with which he conducted the defence, and such the fortitude as well as patience with which he animated the garrison, that though the Spaniards, the Flemings, and the English carried on the attack with all the ardor which national emulation inspires, he held out the town seventeen days. He was taken prisoner, at last, on the breach, overpowered by the superior number of the enemy.

Henry availed himself with the utmost activity of the interval which the admiral's well-timed obstinacy had afforded him. He appointed officers

to collect the scattered remains of the constable's army; he issued orders for levying soldiers in every part of the kingdom; he commanded the ban and arrière-ban of the frontier provinces instantly to take the field and to join the duke of Nevers at Laon in Picardy; he recalled the greater part of the veteran troops which served under the Maréchal Brissac in Piedmont; he sent courier after courier to the duke of Guise, requiring him, together with all his army, to return instantly for the defence of their country; he despatched one envoy to the Grand Seignior, to solicit the assistance of his fleet and the loan of a sum of money; he sent another into Scotland, to incite the Scots to invade the north of England, that by drawing Mary's attention to that quarter he might prevent her from reinforcing her troops which served under Philip. These efforts of the king were warmly seconded by the zeal of his subjects. The city of Paris granted him a free gift of three hundred thousand livres. The other great towns imitated the liberality of the capital, and contributed in proportion. Several noblemen of distinction engaged at their own expense to garrison and defend the towns which lay most exposed to the enemy. Nor was the general concern for the public confined to corporate bodies alone, or to those in the higher sphere of life; but, diffusing itself among persons of every rank, each individual seemed disposed to act with as much vigor as if the honor of the king and the safety of the state had depended solely on his single efforts.[12]

[12] Mém. de Ribier, ii. 701, 703.

Philip, who was no stranger either to the prudent measures taken by the French monarch for the security of his dominions, or to the spirit with which his subjects prepared to defend themselves, perceived, when it was too late, that he had lost an opportunity which could never be recalled, and that it was now vain to think of penetrating into the heart of France. He abandoned, therefore, without much reluctance, a scheme which was too bold and hazardous to be perfectly agreeable to his cautious temper, and employed his army, during the remainder of the campaign, in the sieges of Ham and Catelet. Of these he soon became master; and the reduction of two such petty towns, together with the acquisition of St. Quentin, were all the advantages which he derived from one of the most decisive victories gained in that century. Philip himself, however, continued in high exultation on account of his success, and, as all his passions were tinged with superstition, he, in memory of the battle of St. Quentin, which had been fought on the day consecrated to St. Laurence, vowed to build a church, a monastery, and a palace, in honor of that saint and martyr. Before the expiration of the year he laid the foundation of an edifice, in which all these were united, at the Escurial, in the neighborhood of Madrid; and the same principle which dictated the vow directed the building. For the plan of the work was so formed as to resemble a gridiron, which, according to the legendary tale, had been the instrument of St. Laurence's martyrdom. Notwithstanding the great and expensive schemes in which his restless

ambition involved him, Philip continued the building with such perseverance for twenty-two years, and reserved such large sums for this monument of his devotion and vanity, that the monarchs of Spain are indebted to him for a royal residence which, though not the most elegant, is certainly the most sumptuous and magnificent of any in Europe.[13]

The first account of that fatal blow which the French had received at St. Quentin was carried to Rome by the courier whom Henry had sent to recall the duke of Guise. As Paul, even with the assistance of his French auxiliaries, had hardly been able to check the progress of the Spanish arms, he foresaw that as soon as he was deprived of their protection his territories must be overrun in a moment. He remonstrated, therefore, with the greatest violence against the departure of the French army, reproaching the duke of Guise for his ill conduct, which had brought him into such an unhappy situation, and complaining of the king for deserting him so ungenerously under such circumstances. The duke of Guise's orders, however, were peremptory. Paul, inflexible as he was, found it necessary to accommodate his conduct to the exigency of his affairs, and to employ the mediation of the Venetians and of Cosmo de' Medici in order to obtain peace. Philip, who had been forced unwillingly to a rupture with the pope, and who, even while success crowned his arms, doubted so much the justice of his own cause that he had made frequent overtures of pacifica-

[13] Colménar, Annales d'Espagne, tom. ii. p. 136.

tion, listened eagerly to the first proposals of this nature from Paul, and discovered such moderation in his demands as could hardly have been expected from a prince elated with victory.

The duke of Alva on the part of Philip, and the Cardinal Caraffa in the name of his uncle, met at Cavi, and, both being equally disposed to peace, they, after a short conference, terminated the war by a treaty on the following terms: That Paul should renounce his league with France, and maintain for the future such a neutrality as became the common father of Christendom; that Philip should instantly restore all the towns of the ecclesiastical territory of which he had taken possession; that the claim of the Caraffas to the duchy of Paliano and other demesnes of the Colonnas should be referred to the decision of the republic of Venice; that the duke of Alva should repair in person to Rome, and, after asking pardon of Paul in his own name and in that of his master for having invaded the patrimony of the Church, should receive the pope's absolution from that crime. Thus Paul, through Philip's scrupulous timidity, finished an unprosperous war without any detriment to the papal see. The conqueror appeared humble, and acknowledged his error; while he who had been vanquished retained his usual haughtiness and was treated with every mark of superiority.[14] The duke of Alva, in terms of the treaty, repaired to Rome, and, in the posture of a supplicant, kissed the feet and implored the forgiveness of that very person whom his arms

[14] Pallav., lib. xiii. 183.—F. Paul, 380.—Herrera, vol. i. 310.

had reduced to the last extremity. Such was the superstitious veneration of the Spaniards for the papal character that Alva, though perhaps the proudest man of the age, and accustomed from his infancy to a familiar intercourse with princes, acknowledged that when he approached the pope he was so much overawed that his voice failed and his presence of mind forsook him.[15]

But though this war, which at its commencement threatened mighty revolutions, was brought to an end without occasioning any alteration in those states which were its immediate object, it had produced during its progress effects of considerable consequence in other parts of Italy. As Philip was extremely solicitous to terminate his quarrel with Paul as speedily as possible, he was willing to make any sacrifice in order to gain those princes who, by joining their troops to the papal and French army, might have prolonged the war. With this view, he entered into a negotiation with Octavio Farnese, duke of Parma, and, in order to seduce him from his alliance with France, he restored to him the city of Placentia, with the territory depending on it, which Charles V. had seized in the year 1547, had kept from that time in his possession, and had transmitted, together with his other dominions, to Philip.

This step made such a discovery of Philip's character and views to Cosmo de' Medici, the most sagacious as well as provident of all the Italian princes, that he conceived hopes of accomplishing his favorite scheme of adding Siena and its terri-

[15] Pallav., lib. xiii. 185.—Summonte, Istoria di Napoli, iv. 286.

tories to his dominions in Tuscany. As his success in this attempt depended entirely on the delicacy of address with which it should be conducted, he employed all the refinements of policy in the negotiation which he set on foot for this purpose. He began with soliciting Philip, whose treasury he knew to be entirely drained by the expense of the war, to repay the great sums which he had advanced to the emperor during the siege of Siena. When Philip endeavored to elude a demand which he was unable to satisfy, Cosmo affected to be extremely disquieted, and, making no secret of his disgust, instructed his ambassador at Rome to open a negotiation with the pope, which seemed to be the effect of it. The ambassador executed his commission with such dexterity that Paul, imagining Cosmo to be entirely alienated from the Spanish interest, proposed to him an alliance with France, which should be cemented by the marriage of his eldest son to one of Henry's daughters. Cosmo received the overture with such apparent satisfaction, and with so many professions of gratitude for the high honor of which he had the prospect, that not only the pope's ministers, but the French envoy at Rome, talked confidently and with little reserve of the accession of that important ally, as a matter certain and decided. The account of this was quickly carried to Philip; and Cosmo, who foresaw how much it would alarm him, had despatched his nephew, Ludovico di Toledo, into the Netherlands, that he might be at hand to observe and take advantage of his consternation before the first impression which it made

should in any degree abate. Cosmo was extremely fortunate in the choice of the instrument whom he employed. Toledo waited with patience until he discovered with certainty that Philip had received such intelligence of his uncle's negotiations at Rome as must have filled his suspicious mind with fear and jealousy; and then, craving an audience, he required payment of the money which had been borrowed by the emperor, in the most earnest and peremptory terms. In urging that point, he artfully threw out several dark hints and ambiguous declarations concerning the extremities to which Cosmo might be driven by a refusal of this just demand, as well as by other grievances of which he had good reason to complain.

Philip, astonished at an address in such a strain from a prince so far his inferior as the duke of Tuscany, and comparing what he now heard with the information which he had received from Italy, immediately concluded that Cosmo had ventured to assume this bold and unusual tone on the prospect of his union with France. In order to prevent the pope and Henry from acquiring an ally who by his abilities, as well as the situation of his dominions, would have added both reputation and strength to their confederacy, he offered to grant Cosmo the investiture of Siena if he would consent to accept of it as an equivalent for the sums due to him and engage to furnish a body of troops towards the defence of Philip's territories in Italy against any power who should attack them. As soon as Cosmo had brought Philip to make this concession, which was the object of all his artifices

and intrigues, he did not protract the negotiation by an unnecessary delay or any excess of refinement, but closed eagerly with the proposal; and, Philip, in spite of the remonstrances of his ablest counsellors, signed a treaty with him to that effect.[16]

As no prince was ever more tenacious of his rights than Philip, or less willing to relinquish any territory which he possessed, by what tenure soever he held it, these unusual concessions to the dukes of Parma and Tuscany, by which he wantonly gave up countries in acquiring or defending which his father had employed many years and wasted much blood and treasure, cannot be accounted for from any motive but his superstitious desire of extricating himself out of the war which he had been forced to wage against the pope. By these treaties, however, the balance of power among the Italian states was poised with greater equality, and rendered less variable than it had been since it received the first violent shock from the invasion of Charles VIII. of France. From this period Italy ceased to be the great theatre on which the monarchs of Spain, France, and Germany contended for power or for fame. Their dissensions and hostilities, though as frequent and violent as ever, being excited by new objects, stained other regions of Europe with blood, and rendered them miserable, in their turn, by the devastations of war.

The duke of Guise left Rome on the same day

[16] Thuan., lib. xviii. 624.—Herrera, i. 263, 275.—Pallav., lib. xiii. 180.

that his adversary the duke of Alva made his humiliating submission to the pope. He was received in France as the guardian angel of the kingdom. His late ill success in Italy seemed to be forgotten, while his former services, particularly his defence of Metz, were recounted with exaggerated praise; and he was welcomed in every city through which he passed, as the restorer of public security, who, after having set bounds by his conduct and valor to the victorious arms of Charles V., returned now, at the call of his country, to check the formidable progress of Philip's power. The reception which he met with from Henry was no less cordial and honorable. New titles were invented, and new dignities created, in order to distinguish him. He was appointed lieutenant-general in chief, both within and without the kingdom, with a jurisdiction almost unlimited, and hardly inferior to that which was possessed by the king himself. Thus, through the singular felicity which attended the princes of Lorraine, the miscarriage of their own schemes contributed to aggrandize them. The calamities of his country, and the ill conduct of his rival the constable, exalted the duke of Guise to a height of dignity and power which he could not have expected to attain by the most fortunate and most complete success of his own ambitious projects.

The duke of Guise, eager to perform something suitable to the high expectations of his countrymen, and that he might justify the extraordinary confidence which the king had reposed in him, ordered all the troops which could be got together

to assemble at Compiègne. Though the winter was well advanced and had set in with extreme severity, he placed himself at their head and took the field. By Henry's activity and the zeal of his subjects so many soldiers had been raised in the kingdom, and such considerable reinforcements had been drawn from Germany and Switzerland, as formed an army respectable even in the eyes of a victorious enemy. Philip, alarmed at seeing it put in motion at such an uncommon season, began to tremble for his new conquests, particularly St. Quentin, the fortifications of which were hitherto but imperfectly repaired.

But the duke of Guise meditated a more important enterprise; and, after amusing the enemy with threatening successively different towns on the frontiers of Flanders, he turned suddenly to the left and invested Calais with his whole army. Calais had been taken by the English under Edward III., and was the fruit of that monarch's glorious victory at Crecy. Being the only place that they retained of their ancient and extensive territories in France, and which opened to them at all times an easy and secure passage into the heart of that kingdom, their keeping possession of it soothed the pride of the one nation as much as it mortified the vanity of the other. Its situation was naturally so strong, and its fortifications deemed so impregnable, that no monarch of France, how adventurous soever, had been bold enough to attack it. Even when the domestic strength of England was broken and exhausted by the bloody wars between the houses of York

and Lancaster, and its attention entirely diverted from foreign objects, Calais had remained undisturbed and unthreatened. Mary and her council, composed chiefly of ecclesiastics, unacquainted with military affairs, and whose whole attention was turned towards extirpating heresy out of the kingdom, had not only neglected to take any precautions for the safety of this important place, but seemed to think that the reputation of its strength was alone sufficient for its security. Full of this opinion, they ventured, even after the declaration of war, to continue a practice which the low state of the queen's finances had introduced in times of peace. As the country adjacent to Calais was overflowed during the winter, and the marshes around it became impassable, except by one avenue, which the forts of St. Agatha and Newnham Bridge commanded, it had been the custom of the English to dismiss the greater part of the garrison towards the end of autumn, and to replace it in the spring. In vain did Lord Wentworth, the governor of Calais, remonstrate against this ill-timed parsimony, and represent the possibility of his being attacked suddenly while he had not troops sufficient to man the works. The privy council treated these remonstrances with scorn, as if they had flowed from the timidity or the rapaciousness of the governor, and some of them, with that confidence which is the companion of ignorance, boasted that they would defend Calais with their white rods against any enemy who should approach it during winter.[17]

[17] Carte, iii. 345.

In vain did Philip, who had passed through Calais as he returned from England to the Netherlands, warn the queen of the danger to which it was exposed; and, acquainting her with what was necessary for its security, in vain did he offer to reinforce the garrison during winter with a detachment of his own troops. Mary's counsellors, though obsequious to her in all points wherein religion was concerned, distrusted as much as the rest of their countrymen every proposition that came from her husband; and, suspecting this to be an artifice of Philip's in order to gain the command of the town, they neglected his intelligence, declined his offer, and left Calais with less than a fourth part of the garrison requisite for its defence.

His knowledge of this encouraged the duke of Guise to venture on an enterprise that surprised his own countrymen no less than his enemies. As he knew that its success depended on conducting his operations with such rapidity as would afford the English no time for throwing relief into the town by sea, and prevent Philip from giving him any interruption by land, he pushed the attack with a degree of vigor little known in carrying on sieges during that age. He drove the English from Fort St. Agatha at the first assault. He obliged them to abandon the fort of Newnham Bridge after defending it only three days. He took the castle which commanded the harbor by storm, and, on the eighth day after he appeared before Calais, compelled the governor to surrender, as his feeble garrison, which did not exceed five hundred men, was worn out with the fatigue

of sustaining so many attacks and defending such extensive works.

The duke of Guise, without allowing the English time to recover from the consternation occasioned by this blow, immediately invested Guisnes, the garrison of which, though more numerous, defended itself with less vigor, and, after standing one brisk assault, gave up the town. The castle of Hames was abandoned by the troops posted there, without waiting the approach of the enemy.

Thus, in a few days, during the depth of winter, and at a time when the fatal battle of St. Quentin had so depressed the sanguine spirit of the French that their utmost aim was to protect their own country, without dreaming of making conquests on the enemy, the enterprising valor of one man drove the English out of Calais, after they had held it two hundred and ten years, and deprived them of every foot of land in a kingdom where their dominions had been once very extensive. This exploit, at the same time that it gave a high idea of the power and resources of France to all Europe, set the duke of Guise, in the opinion of his countrymen, far above all the generals of the age. They celebrated his conquests with immoderate transports of joy; while the English gave vent to all the passions which animate a high-spirited people when any great national calamity is manifestly owing to the ill conduct of their rulers. Mary and her ministers, formerly odious, were now contemptible in their eyes. All the terrors of her severe and arbitrary administration could not restrain them from uttering execrations and

threats against those who, having wantonly involved the nation in a quarrel wherein it was nowise interested, had by their negligence or incapacity brought irreparable disgrace on their country and lost the most valuable possession belonging to the English crown.

The king of France imitated the conduct of its former conqueror, Edward III., with regard to Calais. He commanded all the English inhabitants to quit the town, and, giving their houses to his own subjects, whom he allured to settle there by granting them various immunities, he left a numerous garrison, under an experienced governor, for their defence. After this his victorious army was conducted into quarters of refreshment, and the usual inaction of winter returned.

During these various operations, Ferdinand assembled the college of electors at Frankfort, in order to lay before them the instrument whereby Charles V. had resigned the imperial crown and transferred it to him. This he had hitherto delayed on account of some difficulties which had occurred concerning the formalities requisite in supplying a vacancy occasioned by an event to which there is no parallel in the annals of the empire. These being at length adjusted, the prince of Orange executed the commission with which he had been intrusted by Charles: the electors accepted of his resignation, declared Ferdinand his lawful successor, and put him in possession of all the ensigns of the imperial dignity.

But when the new emperor sent Gusman, his chancellor, to acquaint the pope with this transac-

tion, to testify his reverence towards the holy see, and to signify that, according to form, he would soon despatch an ambassador extraordinary to treat with his holiness concerning his coronation, Paul, whom neither experience nor disappointments could teach to bring down his lofty ideas of the papal prerogative to such a moderate standard as suited the genius of the times, refused to admit the envoy into his presence, and declared all the proceedings at Frankfort irregular and invalid. He contended that the pope, as the vicegerent of Christ, was intrusted with the keys both of spiritual and of civil government; that from him the imperial jurisdiction was derived; that though his predecessors had authorized the electors to choose an emperor whom the holy see confirmed, this privilege was confined to those cases when a vacancy was occasioned by death; that the instrument of Charles's resignation had been presented in an improper court, as it belonged to the pope alone to reject or to accept of it and to nominate a person to fill the imperial throne; that, setting aside all these objections, Ferdinand's election labored under two defects, which alone were sufficient to render it void, for the Protestant electors had been admitted to vote, though by their apostasy from the Catholic faith they had forfeited that and every other privilege of the electoral office, and Ferdinand, by ratifying the concessions of several diets in favor of heretics, had rendered himself unworthy of the imperial dignity, which was instituted for the protection, not for the destruction, of the Church. But, after thundering

out these extravagant maxims, he added, with an appearance of condescension, that if Ferdinand would renounce all title to the imperial crown founded on the election at Frankfort, make professions of repentance for his past conduct, and supplicate him, with due humility, to confirm Charles's resignation, as well as his own assumption to the empire, he might expect every mark of favor from his paternal clemency and goodness. Gusman, though he had foreseen considerable difficulties in his negotiation with the pope, little expected that he would have revived those antiquated and wild pretensions, which astonished him so much that he hardly knew in what tone he ought to reply. He prudently declined entering into any controversy concerning the nature or extent of the papal jurisdiction, and, confining himself to the political considerations which should determine the pope to recognize an emperor already in possession, he endeavored to place them in such a light as he imagined could scarcely fail to strike Paul, if he were not altogether blind to his own interest. Philip seconded Gusman's arguments with great earnestness, by an ambassador whom he sent to Rome on purpose, and besought the pope to desist from claims so unseasonable as might not only irritate and alarm Ferdinand and the princes of the empire, but furnish the enemies of the holy see with a new reason for representing its jurisdiction as incompatible with the rights of princes and subversive of all civil authority. But Paul, who deemed it a crime to attend to any considerations suggested by human prudence or policy when he

thought himself called upon to assert the prerogatives of the papal see, remained inflexible; and during his pontificate Ferdinand was not acknowledged as emperor by the court of Rome.[18]

While Henry was intent upon his preparations for the approaching campaign, he received accounts of the issue of his negotiations in Scotland. Long experience having at last taught the Scots the imprudence of involving their country in every quarrel between France and England, neither the solicitations of the French ambassador nor the address and authority of the queen regent could prevail on them to take arms against a kingdom with which they were at peace. On this occasion the ardor of a martial nobility and of a turbulent people was restrained by regard for the public interest and tranquillity, which in former deliberations of this kind had been seldom attended to by a nation always prone to rush into every new war. But, though the Scots adhered with steadiness to their pacific system, they were extremely ready to gratify the French king in another particular, which he had given in charge to his ambassador.

The young queen of Scots had been affianced to the dauphin in the year 1548, and, having been educated since that time in the court of France, she had grown up to be the most amiable and one of the most accomplished princesses of that age. Henry demanded the consent of her subjects to the celebration of the marriage; and a parliament which was held for that purpose appointed eight

[18] Godleveus de Abdicat. Car. V., ap. Gold., Polit. Imper., 392.—Pallav., lib. xiii. 189.—Mém. de Ribier, ii. 746, 759.

commissioners to represent the whole body of the nation at that solemnity, with power to sign such deeds as might be requisite before it was concluded. In settling the articles of the marriage, the Scots took every precaution that prudence could dictate in order to preserve the liberty and independence of their country; while the French used every art to secure to the dauphin the conduct of affairs during the queen's life, and the succession of the crown on the event of her demise. The marriage was celebrated with pomp suitable to the dignity of the parties and the magnificence of a court at that time the most splendid in Europe.[19] Thus Henry, in the course of a few months, had the glory of recovering an important possession which had anciently belonged to the crown of France, and of adding to it the acquisition of a new kingdom. By this event, too, the duke of Guise acquired new consideration and importance; the marriage of his niece to the apparent heir of the crown raising him so far above the condition of other subjects that the credit which he had gained by his great actions seemed thereby to be rendered no less permanent than it was extensive.

When the campaign opened, soon after the dauphin's marriage, the duke of Guise was placed at the head of the army, with the same unlimited powers as formerly. Henry had received such liberal supplies from his subjects that the troops under his command were both numerous and well appointed; while Philip, exhausted by the

[19] Keith's History of Scotland, p. 73, Append. 13.—Corps Diplom., v. 21.

extraordinary efforts of the preceding year, had been obliged to dismiss so many of his forces during the winter that he could not bring an army into the field capable of making head against the enemy. The duke of Guise did not lose the favorable opportunity which his superiority afforded him. He invested Thionville in the duchy of Luxembourg, one of the strongest towns on the frontiers of the Netherlands, and of great importance to France by its neighborhood to Metz; and, notwithstanding the obstinate valor with which it was defended, he forced it to capitulate after a siege of three weeks.[20]

But the success of this enterprise, which it was expected would lead to other conquests, was more than counterbalanced by an event which happened in another part of the Low Countries. The Maréchal de Termes, governor of Calais, having penetrated into Flanders without opposition, invested Dunkirk with an army of fourteen thousand men, and took it by storm on the fifth day of the siege. Hence he advanced towards Nieuport, which must have soon fallen into his hands if the approach of the count of Egmont with a superior army had not made it prudent to retreat. The French troops were so much encumbered with the booty which they had got at Dunkirk or by ravaging the open country that they moved slowly; and Egmont, who had left his heavy baggage and artillery behind him, marched with such rapidity that he came up with them near Gravelines and attacked them with the utmost impetuosity. De Termes, who

[20] Thuan., lib. xx. 690.

had the choice of the ground, having posted his troops to advantage in the angle formed by the mouth of the river Aa and the sea, received him with great firmness. Victory remained for some time in suspense, the desperate valor of the French, who foresaw the unavoidable destruction that must follow upon a rout in an enemy's country, counterbalancing the superior number of the Flemings, when one of those accidents to which human prudence does not extend decided the contest in favor of the latter. A squadron of English ships of war, which was cruising on the coast, being drawn by the noise of the firing towards the place of the engagement, entered the river Aa, and turned its great guns against the right wing of the French with such effect as immediately broke that body and spread terror and confusion through the whole army. The Flemings, to whom assistance so unexpected and so seasonable gave fresh spirit, redoubled their efforts, that they might not lose the advantage which fortune had presented them, or give the enemy time to recover from their consternation, and the rout of the French soon became universal. Near two thousand were killed on the spot; a greater number fell by the hands of the peasants, who, in revenge for the cruelty with which their country had been plundered, pursued the fugitives and massacred them without mercy; the rest were taken prisoners, together with De Termes, their general, and many officers of distinction.[21]

This signal victory, for which the count of

[21] Thuan., lib. xx. 694.

Egmont was afterwards so ill requited by Philip, obliged the duke of Guise to relinquish all other schemes, and to hasten towards the frontiers of Picardy, that he might oppose the progress of the enemy in that province. This disaster, however, reflected new lustre on his reputation, and once more turned the eyes of his countrymen towards him, as the only general on whose arms victory always attended, and in whose conduct, as well as good fortune, they could confide in every danger. Henry reinforced the duke of Guise's army with so many troops drawn from the adjacent garrisons that it soon amounted to forty thousand men. That of the enemy, after the junction of Egmont with the duke of Savoy, was not inferior in number. They encamped at the distance of a few leagues from one another; and, each monarch having joined his respective army, it was expected, after the vicissitudes of good and bad success during this and the former campaign, that a decisive battle would at last determine which of the rivals should take the ascendant for the future and give law to Europe. But, though both had it in their power, neither of them discovered any inclination to bring the determination of such an important point to depend upon the uncertain issue of a single battle. The fatal engagements at St. Quentin and Gravelines were too recent to be so soon forgotten; and the prospect of encountering the same troops commanded by the same generals who had twice triumphed over his arms inspired Henry with a degree of caution which was not common to him. Philip, of a genius averse to bold

operations in war, naturally leaned to cautious measures, and was not disposed to hazard anything against a general so fortunate and successful as the duke of Guise. Both monarchs, as if by agreement, stood on the defensive, and, fortifying their camps carefully, avoided every skirmish or rencounter that might bring on a general engagement.

While the armies continued in this inaction, peace began to be mentioned in each camp, and both Henry and Philip discovered an inclination to listen to any overture that tended to re-establish it. The kingdoms of France and Spain had been engaged during half a century in almost continual wars, carried on at a great expense and productive of no considerable advantage to either. Exhausted by extraordinary and unceasing efforts, which far exceeded those to which the nations of Europe had been accustomed before the rivalship between Charles V. and Francis I., both nations longed so much for an interval of repose, in order to recruit their strength, that their sovereigns drew from them with difficulty the supplies necessary for carrying on hostilities. The private inclinations of both the kings concurred with those of their people. Philip was prompted to wish for peace by his fond desire of returning to Spain. Accustomed from his infancy to the climate and manners of that country, he was attached to it with such extreme predilection that he never felt himself at ease in any other part of his dominions. But, as he could not quit the Low Countries, either with decency or safety, and venture on a voyage to

Spain, during the continuance of war, the prospect of a pacification, which would put it in his power to execute his favorite scheme, was highly acceptable. Henry was no less desirous of being delivered from the burden and occupations of war, that he might have leisure to turn his attention and bend the whole force of his government towards suppressing the opinions of the Reformers, which were spreading with such rapidity in Paris and other great towns of France that they began to grow formidable to the established Church.

Besides these public and avowed considerations, arising from the state of the two hostile kingdoms or from the wishes of their respective monarchs, there was a secret intrigue carried on in the court of France, which contributed as much as either of the other to hasten and to facilitate the negotiation of a peace. The Constable Montmorency, during his captivity, beheld the rapid success and growing favor of the duke of Guise with the envy natural to a rival. Every advantage gained by the princes of Lorraine he considered as a fresh wound to his own reputation, and he knew with what malevolent address it would be improved to diminish his credit with the king and to augment that of the duke of Guise. These arts he was afraid might by degrees work on the easy and ductile mind of Henry, so as to efface all remains of his ancient affection towards himself. But he could not discover any remedy for this, unless he were allowed to return home, that he might try whether by his presence he could defeat the artifices of his enemies and revive those warm and

tender sentiments which had long attached Henry to him with a confidence so entire as resembled rather the cordiality of private friendship than the cold and selfish connection between a monarch and one of his courtiers. While Montmorency was forming schemes and wishes for his return to France, with much anxiety of mind but with little hope of success, an unexpected incident prepared the way for it. The cardinal of Lorraine, who had shared with his brother in the king's favor and participated of the power which that conferred, did not bear prosperity with the same discretion as the duke of Guise. Intoxicated with their good fortune, he forgot how much they had been indebted for their present elevation to their connections with the duchess of Valentinois, and vainly ascribed all to the extraordinary merit of their family. This led him not only to neglect his benefactress, but to thwart her schemes and to talk with a sarcastic liberty of her character and person. That singular woman, who, if we may believe contemporary writers, retained the beauty and charms of youth at the age of threescore, and on whom it is certain that Henry still doted with all the fondness of love, felt this injury with sensibility, and set herself with eagerness to inflict the vengeance which it merited. As there was no method of supplanting the princes of Lorraine so effectually as by a coalition of interests with the constable, she proposed the marriage of her granddaughter with one of his sons, as the bond of their future union; and Montmorency readily gave his consent to the match. Having thus cemented their alliance, the

duchess employed all her influence with the king in order to confirm his inclinations towards peace and to induce him to take the steps necessary for attaining it. She insinuated that any overture of that kind would come with great propriety from the constable, and, if intrusted to the conduct of his prudence, could hardly fail of success.

Henry, long accustomed to commit all affairs of importance to the management of the constable, and needing only this encouragement to return to his ancient habits, wrote to him immediately with his usual familiarity and affection, empowering him, at the same time, to take the first opportunity of sounding Philip and his ministers with regard to peace. Montmorency made his application to Philip by the most proper channel. He opened himself to the duke of Savoy, who, notwithstanding the high command to which he had been raised, and the military glory which he had acquired in the Spanish service, was weary of remaining in exile, and languished to return into his paternal dominions. As there was no prospect of his recovering possession of them by force of arms, he considered a definitive treaty of peace between France and Spain as the only event by which he could hope to obtain restitution. Being no stranger to Philip's private wishes with regard to peace, he easily prevailed on him not only to discover a disposition on his part towards accommodation, but to permit Montmorency to return, on his parole, to France, that he might confirm his own sovereign in his pacific sentiments. Henry received the constable with the most flattering marks of regard: absence,

instead of having abated or extinguished the monarch's friendship, seemed to have given it new ardor. Montmorency, from the moment of his appearance in court, assumed, if possible, a higher place than ever in his affection and a more perfect ascendant over his mind. The cardinal of Lorraine and the duke of Guise prudently gave way to a tide of favor too strong for them to oppose, and, confining themselves to their proper departments, permitted, without any struggle, the constable and duchess of Valentinois to direct public affairs at their pleasure. They soon prevailed on the king to nominate plenipotentiaries to treat of peace. Philip did the same. The abbey of Cercamp was fixed on as the place of congress; and all military operations were immediately terminated by a suspension of arms.

While these preliminary steps were taking towards a treaty which restored tranquillity to Europe, Charles V., whose ambition had so long disturbed it, ended his days in the monastery of St. Justus. When Charles entered this retreat, he formed such a plan of life for himself as would have suited the condition of a private gentleman of a moderate fortune. His table was neat but plain; his domestics few; his intercourse with them familiar; all the cumbersome and ceremonious forms of attendance on his person were entirely abolished, as destructive of that social ease and tranquillity which he courted in order to soothe the remainder of his days. As the mildness of the climate, together with his deliverance from the burdens and cares of government, procured

him, at first, a considerable remission from the acute pains with which he had been long tormented, he enjoyed, perhaps, more complete satisfaction in this humble solitude than all his grandeur had ever yielded him. The ambitious thoughts and projects which had so long engrossed and disquieted him were quite effaced from his mind; far from any part in the political transactions of the princes of Europe, he restrained his curiosity even from any inquiry concerning them; and he seemed to view the busy scene which he had abandoned with all the contempt and indifference arising from his thorough experience of its vanity, as well as from the pleasing reflection of having disentangled himself from its cares.

Other amusements and other objects now occupied him. Sometimes he cultivated the plants in his garden with his own hands; sometimes he rode out to the neighboring wood on a little horse, the only one that he kept, attended by a single servant on foot. When his infirmities confined him to his apartment, which often happened, and deprived him of these more active recreations, he either admitted a few gentlemen who resided near the monastery to visit him, and entertained them familiarly at his table, or he employed himself in studying mechanical principles, and in forming curious works of mechanism, of which he had always been remarkably fond, and to which his genius was peculiarly turned. With this view he had engaged Turriano, one of the most ingenious artists of that age, to accompany him in his retreats. He labored together with him in framing models of the most

useful machines, as well as in making experiments with regard to their respective powers; and it was not seldom that the ideas of the monarch assisted or perfected the inventions of the artist. He relieved his mind, at intervals, with slighter and more fantastic works of mechanism, in fashioning puppets which, by the structure of internal springs, mimicking the gestures and actions of men, to the astonishment of the ignorant monks, who, beholding movements which they could not comprehend, sometimes distrusted their own senses, and sometimes suspected Charles and Turriano of being in compact with invisible powers. He was particularly curious with regard to the construction of clocks and watches; and having found, after repeated trials, that he could not bring any two of them to go exactly alike, he reflected, it is said, with a mixture of surprise as well as regret on his own folly in having bestowed so much time and labor on the more vain attempt of bringing mankind to a precise uniformity of sentiment concerning the profound and mysterious doctrines of religion.

But, in what manner soever Charles disposed of the rest of his time, he constantly reserved a considerable portion of it for religious exercises. He regularly attended divine service in the chapel of the monastery, every morning and evening; he took great pleasure in reading books of devotion, particularly the works of St. Augustine and St. Bernard, and conversed much with his confessor and the prior of the monastery on pious subjects. Thus did Charles pass the first year of his retreat,

in a manner not unbecoming a man perfectly disengaged from the affairs of the present life and standing on the confines of a future world; either in innocent amusements, which soothed his pains and relieved a mind worn out with excessive application to business, or in devout occupations, which he deemed necessary in preparing for another state.

But about six months before his death, the gout, after a longer intermission than usual, returned, with a proportional increase of violence. His shattered constitution had not vigor enough remaining to withstand such a shock. It enfeebled his mind as much as his body, and from this period we hardly discern any traces of that sound and masculine understanding which distinguished Charles among his contemporaries. An illiberal and timid superstition depressed his spirit. He had no relish for amusements of any kind. He endeavored to conform, in his manner of living, to all the rigor of monastic austerity. He desired no other society than that of monks, and was almost continually employed with them in chanting the hymns of the missal. As an expiation for his sins, he gave himself the discipline in secret with such severity that the whip of cords which he employed as the instrument of his punishment was found, after his decease, tinged with his blood. Nor was he satisfied with these acts of mortification, which, however severe, were not unexampled. The timorous and distrustful solicitude which always accompanies superstition still continued to disquiet him, and, depreciating all the devout exercises in which he had hitherto been engaged, prompted him to

aim at something extraordinary, at some new and singular act of piety, that would display his zeal and merit the favor of Heaven. The act on which he fixed was as wild and uncommon as any that superstition ever suggested to a weak and disordered fancy. He resolved to celebrate his own obsequies before his death. He ordered his tomb to be erected in the chapel of the monastery. His domestics marched thither in funeral procession, with black tapers in their hands. He himself followed in his shroud. He was laid in his coffin, with much solemnity. The service for the dead was chanted, and Charles joined in the prayers which were offered up for the rest of his soul, mingling his tears with those which his attendants shed, as if they had been celebrating a real funeral. The ceremony closed with sprinkling holy water on the coffin in the usual form, and, all the assistants retiring, the doors of the chapel were shut. Then Charles rose out of the coffin, and withdrew to his apartment, full of those awful sentiments which such a singular solemnity was calculated to inspire. But either the fatiguing length of the ceremony, or the impression which the image of death left on his mind, affected him so much that next day he was seized with a fever. His feeble frame could not long resist its violence, and he expired on the twenty-first of September, after a life of fifty-eight years, six months, and twenty-five days.[22]

As Charles was the first prince of the age in

[22] Strada de Bello Belg., lib. i. p. 11.—Thuan., 723.—Sandoval, ii. 609, etc.—Miniana, Contin. Marianæ, vol. iv. 216.—Vera y Zuñiga, Vida de Carlos, p. 111.

rank and dignity, the part which he acted, whether we consider the greatness, the variety, or the success of his undertakings, was the most conspicuous. It is from an attentive observation of his conduct, not from the exaggerated praises of the Spanish historians, or the undistinguishing censure of the French, that a just idea of Charles's genius and abilities is to be collected. He possessed qualities so peculiar that they strongly mark his character, and not only distinguish him from the princes who were his contemporaries, but account for that superiority over them which he so long maintained. In forming his schemes, he was by nature, as well as by habit, cautious and considerate. Born with talents which unfolded themselves slowly and were late in attaining maturity, he was accustomed to ponder every subject that demanded his consideration with a careful and deliberate attention. He bent the whole force of his mind towards it, and, dwelling upon it with a serious application, undiverted by pleasure, and hardly relaxed by any amusement, he revolved it, in silence, in his own breast. He then communicated the matter to his ministers, and, after hearing their opinions, took his resolution with a decisive firmness, which seldom follows such slow and seemingly hesitating consultations. Of consequence, Charles's measures, instead of resembling the desultory and irregular sallies of Henry VIII. or Francis I., had the appearance of a consistent system, in which all the parts were arranged, all the effects were foreseen, and even every accident was provided for. His promptitude in execution was no less remark-

able than his patience in deliberation. He did not discover greater sagacity in his choice of the measures which it was proper to pursue, than fertility of genius in finding out the means for rendering his pursuit of them successful. Though he had naturally so little of the martial turn that during the most ardent and bustling period of life he remained in the cabinet inactive, yet, when he chose at length to appear at the head of his armies, his mind was so formed for vigorous exertions in every direction that he acquired such knowledge in the art of war, and such talents for command, as rendered him equal in reputation and success to the most able generals of the age. But Charles possessed in the most eminent degree the science which is of greatest importance to a monarch, that of knowing men and of adapting their talents to the various departments which he allotted to them. From the death of Chièvres to the end of his reign, he employed no general in the field, no minister in the cabinet, no ambassador to a foreign court, no governor of a province, whose abilities were inadequate to the trust which he reposed in them. Though destitute of that bewitching affability of manners which gained Francis the hearts of all who approached his person, he was no stranger to the virtues which secure fidelity and attachment. He placed unbounded confidence in his generals; he rewarded their services with munificence; he neither envied their fame nor discovered any jealousy of their power. Almost all the generals who conducted his armies may be placed on a level with those illustrious personages who have attained the

highest eminence of military glory; and his advantages over his rivals are to be ascribed so manifestly to the superior abilities of the commanders whom he set in opposition to them, that this might seem to detract in some degree from his own merit, if the talent of discovering, and steadiness in employing, such instruments were not the most undoubted proofs of a capacity for government.

There were, nevertheless, defects in his political character which must considerably abate the admiration due to his extraordinary talents. Charles's ambition was insatiable; and, though there seems to be no foundation for an opinion prevalent in his own age, that he had formed the chimerical project of establishing an universal monarchy in Europe, it is certain that his desire of being distinguished as a conqueror involved him in continual wars, which not only exhausted and oppressed his subjects, but left him little leisure for giving attention to the interior police and improvement of his kingdoms, the great objects of every prince who makes the happiness of his people the end of his government. Charles at a very early period of life having added the imperial crown to the kingdoms of Spain and to the hereditary dominions of the houses of Austria and Burgundy, this opened to him such a vast field of enterprise, and engaged him in schemes so complicated as well as arduous, that, feeling his power to be unequal to the execution of them, he had often recourse to low artifices, unbecoming his superior talents, and sometimes ventured on such deviations from integrity as were dishonorable in a great

prince. His insidious and fraudulent policy appeared more conspicuous, and was rendered more odious, by a comparison with the open and undesigning character of his contemporaries, Francis I. and Henry VIII. This difference, though occasioned chiefly by the diversity of their tempers, must be ascribed in some degree to such an opposition in the principles of their political conduct as affords some excuse for this defect in Charles's behavior, though it cannot serve as a justification of it. Francis and Henry seldom acted but from the impulse of their passions, and rushed headlong towards the object in view. Charles's measures, being the result of cool reflection, were disposed into a regular system and carried on upon a concerted plan. Persons who act in the former manner naturally pursue the end in view without assuming any disguise or displaying much address. Such as hold the latter course are apt, in forming as well as in executing their designs, to employ such refinements as always lead to artifice in conduct, and often degenerate into deceit.

The circumstances transmitted to us with respect to Charles's private deportment and character are fewer and less interesting than might have been expected from the great number of authors who have undertaken to write an account of his life. These are not the object of this history, which aims more at representing the great transactions of the reign of Charles V., and pointing out the manner in which they affected the political state of Europe, than at delineating his private virtues or defects.

The plenipotentiaries of France, Spain, and England continued their conferences at Cercamp; and though each of them, with the usual art of negotiators, made at first very high demands in the name of their respective courts, yet, as they were all equally desirous of peace, they would have consented reciprocally to such abatements and restrictions of their claims as must have removed every obstacle to an accommodation. The death of Charles V. was a new motive with Philip to hasten the conclusion of a treaty, as it increased his impatience for returning into Spain, where there was now no person greater or more illustrious than himself. But, in spite of the concurring wishes of all the parties interested, an event happened which occasioned an unavoidable delay in their negotiations. About a month after the opening of the conferences at Cercamp, Mary of England ended her short and inglorious reign, and Elizabeth, her sister, was immediately proclaimed queen with universal joy. As the powers of the English plenipotentiaries expired on the death of their mistress, they could not proceed until they received a commission and instructions from their new sovereign.

Henry and Philip beheld Elizabeth's elevation to the throne with equal solicitude. As during Mary's jealous administration, under the most difficult circumstances, and in a situation extremely delicate, that princess had conducted herself with prudence and address far exceeding her years, they had conceived a high idea of her abilities, and already formed expectations of a reign very different

from that of her sister. Equally sensible of the importance of gaining her favor, both monarchs set themselves with emulation to court it, and employed every art in order to insinuate themselves into her confidence. Each of them had something meritorious, with regard to Elizabeth, to plead in his own behalf. Henry had offered her a retreat in his dominions if the dread of her sister's violence should force her to fly for safety out of England. Philip, by his powerful intercession, had prevented Mary from proceeding to the most fatal extremities against her sister. Each of them endeavored now to avail himself of the circumstances in his favor. Henry wrote to Elizabeth soon after her accession, with the warmest expressions of regard and friendship. He represented the war which had unhappily been kindled between their kingdoms, not as a national quarrel, but as the effect of Mary's blind partiality to her husband and fond compliance with all his wishes. He entreated her to disengage herself from an alliance which had proved so unfortunate to England, and to consent to a separate peace with him, without mingling her interests with those of Spain, from which they ought now to be altogether disjoined. Philip, on the other hand, unwilling to lose his connection with England, the importance of which, during a rupture with France, he had so recently experienced, not only vied with Henry in declarations of esteem for Elizabeth, and in professions of his resolution to cultivate the strictest amity with her, but, in order to confirm and perpetuate their union, he offered himself to her in marriage,

and undertook to procure a dispensation from the pope for that purpose.

Elizabeth weighed the proposals of the two monarchs attentively, and with that provident discernment of her true interest which was conspicuous in all her deliberations. She gave some encouragement to Henry's overture of a separate negotiation, because it opened a channel of correspondence with France, which she might find to be of great advantage if Philip should not discover sufficient zeal and solicitude for securing to her proper terms in the joint treaty. But she ventured on this step with the most cautious reserve, that she might not alarm Philip's suspicious temper and lose an ally in attempting to gain an enemy.[23] Henry himself, by an unpardonable act of indiscretion, prevented her from carrying her intercourse with him to such a length as might have offended or alienated Philip. At the very time when he was courting Elizabeth's friendship with the greatest assiduity, he yielded with an inconsiderate facility to the solicitations of the princes of Lorraine, and allowed his daughter-in-law, the queen of Scots, to assume the title and arms of queen of England. This ill-timed pretension, the source of many calamities to the unfortunate queen of Scots, extinguished at once all the confidence that might have grown between Henry and Elizabeth, and left in its place distrust, resentment, and antipathy. Elizabeth soon found that she must unite her interests closely with Philip's, and expect peace only

[23] Forbes, Full View, i. p. 4.

from negotiations carried on in conjunction with him.[24]

As she had granted a commission, immediately after her accession, to the same plenipotentiaries whom her sister had employed, she now instructed them to act in every point in concert with the plenipotentiaries of Spain, and to take no step until they had previously consulted with them.[25] But, though she deemed it prudent to assume this appearance of confidence in the Spanish monarch, she knew precisely how far to carry it, and discovered no inclination to accept of that extraordinary proposal of marriage which Philip had made to her. The English had expressed so openly their detestation of her sister's choice of him that it would have been highly imprudent to have exasperated them by renewing that odious alliance. She was too well acquainted with Philip's harsh, imperious temper to think of him for a husband. Nor could she admit a dispensation from the pope to be sufficient to authorize her marrying him, without condemning her father's divorce from Catherine of Aragon, and acknowledging of consequence that her mother's marriage was null and her own birth illegitimate. But, though she determined not to yield to Philip's addresses, the situation of her affairs rendered it dangerous to reject them: she returned her answer, therefore, in terms which were evasive, but so tempered with respect that, though they gave him no reason to

[24] Strype's Annals of the Reformation, i. 11.—Carte's History of England, vol. iii. p. 375.

[25] Forbes, Full View, i. pp. 37, 40.

be secure of success, they did not altogether extinguish his hopes.

By this artifice, as well as by the prudence with which she concealed her sentiments and intentions concerning religion, for some time after her accession, she so far gained upon Philip that he warmly espoused her interest in the conferences which were renewed at Cercamp and afterwards removed to Chateau-Cambresis. A definitive treaty which was to adjust the claims and pretensions of so many princes, required the examination of such a variety of intricate points, and led to such infinite and minute details, as drew out the negotiations to a great length. But the Constable Montmorency exerted himself with such indefatigable zeal and industry, repairing alternately to the courts of Paris and Brussels, in order to obviate or remove every difficulty, that all points in dispute were adjusted at length in such a manner as to give entire satisfaction in every particular to Henry and Philip, and the last hand was ready to be put to the treaty between them.

The claims of England remained as the only obstacle to retard it. Elizabeth demanded the restitution of Calais in the most peremptory tone, as an essential condition of her consenting to peace. Henry refused to give up that important conquest; and both seemed to have taken their resolution with unalterable firmness. Philip warmly supported Elizabeth's pretensions to Calais, not merely from a principle of equity towards the English nation, that he might appear to have contributed to their recovering what they had lost by

espousing his cause, nor solely with a view of soothing Elizabeth by this manifestation of zeal for her interest, but in order to render France less formidable, by securing to her ancient enemy this easy access into the heart of the kingdom. The earnestness, however, with which he seconded the arguments of the English plenipotentiaries soon began to relax. During the course of the negotiation, Elizabeth, who now felt herself firmly seated on her throne, began to take such open and vigorous measures, not only for overturning all that her sister had done in favor of popery, but for establishing the Protestant Church on a firm foundation, as convinced Philip that his hopes of a union with her had been from the beginning vain, and were now desperate. From that period his interpositions in her favor became more cold and formal, flowing merely from a regard to decorum, or from the consideration of remote political interest. Elizabeth, having reason to expect such an alteration in his conduct, quickly perceived it. But, as nothing would have been of greater detriment to her people, or more inconsistent with her schemes of domestic administration, than the continuance of war, she saw the necessity of submitting to such conditions as the situation of her affairs imposed, and that she must reckon upon being deserted by an ally who was now united to her by a very feeble tie, if she did not speedily reduce her demands to what was moderate and attainable. She accordingly gave new instructions to her ambassadors; and, Philip's plenipotentiaries acting as mediators between the French and

them,[26] an expedient was fallen upon which in some degree justified Elizabeth's departing from the rigor of her first demand with regard to Calais. All lesser articles were settled without much discussion or delay. Philip, that he might not appear to have abandoned the English, insisted that the treaty between Henry and Elizabeth should be concluded in form before that between the French monarch and himself. The one was signed on the second day of April, the other on the day following.

The treaty of peace between France and England contained no articles of real importance but that which respected Calais. It was stipulated that the king of France should retain possession of that town, with all its dependencies, during eight years; that at the expiration of that term he should restore it to England; that in case of non-performance he should forfeit five hundred thousand crowns, for the payment of which sum seven or eight wealthy merchants, who were not his subjects, should grant security; that five persons of distinction should be given as hostages until that security were provided; that, although the forfeit of five hundred thousand crowns should be paid, the right of England to Calais should still remain entire, in the same manner as if the term of eight years were expired; that the king and queen of Scotland should be included in the treaty; that if they or the French king should violate the peace by any hostile action, Henry should be obliged instantly to restore Calais; that, on the

[26] Forbes, i. 59.

other hand, if any breach of the treaty proceeded from Elizabeth, then Henry and the king and queen of Scots were absolved from all the engagements which they had come under by this treaty.

Notwithstanding the studied attention with which so many precautions were taken, it is evident that Henry did not intend the restitution of Calais, nor is it probable that Elizabeth expected it. It was hardly possible that she could maintain, during the course of eight years, such perfect concord both with France and Scotland as not to afford Henry some pretext for alleging that she had violated the treaty. But, even if that term should elapse without any ground for complaint, Henry might then choose to pay the sum stipulated, and Elizabeth had no method of asserting her right but by force of arms. However, by throwing the articles in the treaty with regard to Calais into this form, Elizabeth satisfied her subjects of every denomination: she gave men of discernment a striking proof of her address in palliating what she could not prevent, and amused the multitude, to whom the cession of such an important place would have appeared altogether infamous, with a prospect of recovering in a short time that favorite possession.

The expedient which Montmorency employed in order to facilitate the conclusion of peace between France and Spain was the negotiating two treaties of marriage, one between Elizabeth, Henry's eldest daughter, and Philip, who supplanted his son, the unfortunate Don Carlos, to whom that princess had been promised in the former conferences at

Cercamp; the other between Margaret, Henry's only sister, and the duke of Savoy. For, however feeble the ties of blood may often be among princes, or how little soever they may regard them when pushed on to act by motives of ambition, they assume on other occasions the appearance of being so far influenced by these domestic affections as to employ them to justify measures and concessions which they find to be necessary but know to be impolitic or dishonorable. Such was the use Henry made of the two marriages to which he gave his consent. Having secured an honorable establishment for his sister and his daughter, he, in consideration of these, granted terms both to Philip and the duke of Savoy of which he would not on any other account have ventured to approve.

The principal articles in the treaty between France and Spain were, that a sincere and perpetual amity should be established between the two crowns and their respective allies; that the two monarchs should labor in concert to procure the convocation of a general council, in order to check the progress of heresy and restore unity and concord to the Christian Church; that all conquests made by either party, on this side of the Alps, since the commencement of the war in 1551, should be mutually restored; that the duchy of Savoy, the principality of Piedmont, the country of Bressy, and all the other territories formerly subject to the dukes of Savoy, should be restored to Emanuel Philibert immediately after the celebration of his marriage with Margaret of France,

the towns of Turin, Quiers, Pignerol, Chivaz, and Villanova excepted, of which Henry should keep possession until his claims to these places, in right of his grandmother, should be tried and decided in course of law; that, as long as Henry retained these places in his hands, Philip should be at liberty to keep garrisons in the towns of Vercelli and Asti; that the French king should immediately evacuate all the places which he held in Tuscany and the Sienese, and renounce all future pretensions to them; that he should restore the marquisate of Montferrat to the duke of Mantua; that he should receive the Genoese into favor, and give up to them the towns which he had conquered in the island of Corsica; that none of the princes or states to whom these cessions were made should call their subjects to account for any part of their conduct while under the dominion of their enemies, but should bury all past transactions in oblivion. The pope, the emperor, the kings of Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Portugal, the king and queen of Scots, and almost every prince and state in Christendom, were comprehended in this pacification, as the allies either of Henry or of Philip.[27]

Thus, by this famous treaty, peace was re-established in Europe. All the causes of discord which had so long embroiled the powerful monarchs of France and Spain, that had transmitted hereditary quarrels and wars from Charles to Philip and from Francis to Henry, seemed to be wholly removed or finally terminated. The French alone

[27] Recueil des Traités, tom. ii. 287.

complained of the unequal conditions of a treaty into which an ambitious minister, in order to recover his liberty, and an artful mistress, that she might gratify her resentment, had seduced their too easy monarch. They exclaimed loudly against the folly of giving up to the enemies of France a hundred and eighty-nine fortified places in the Low Countries or in Italy, in return for the three insignificant towns of St. Quentin, Ham, and Catelet. They considered it as an indelible stain upon the glory of the nation to renounce in one day territories so extensive and so capable of being defended that the enemy could not have hoped to wrest them out of its hands after many years of victory.

But Henry, without regarding the sentiments of his people or being moved by the remonstrances of his council, ratified the treaty, and executed with great fidelity whatever he had stipulated to perform. The duke of Savoy repaired with a numerous retinue to Paris, in order to celebrate his marriage with Henry's sister. The duke of Alva was sent to the same capital, at the head of a splendid embassy, to espouse Elizabeth in the name of his master. They were received with extraordinary magnificence by the French court. Amidst the rejoicings and festivities on that occasion, Henry's days were cut short by a singular and tragical accident. His son, Francis II., a prince under age, of a weak constitution, and of a mind still more feeble, succeeded him. Soon after, Paul ended his violent and imperious pontificate, at enmity with all the world, and disgusted even with

his own nephews. They, persecuted by Philip, and deserted by the succeeding pope, whom they had raised by their influence to the papal throne, were condemned to the punishment which their crimes and ambition had merited, and their death was as infamous as their lives had been criminal. Thus most of the personages who had long sustained the principal characters on the great theatre of Europe disappeared about the same time. A more known period of history opens at this era; other actors enter upon the stage, with different views, as well as different passions; new contests arose, and new schemes of ambition occupied and disquieted mankind.

Upon reviewing the transactions of any active period in the history of civilized nations, the changes which are accomplished appear wonderfully disproportioned to the efforts which have been exerted. Conquests are never very extensive or rapid but among nations whose progress in improvement is extremely unequal. When Alexander the Great, at the head of a gallant people, of simple manners and formed to war by admirable military institutions, invaded a state sunk in luxury and enervated by excessive refinement; when Genchizcan and Tamerlane, with their armies of hardy barbarians, poured in upon nations enfeebled by the climate in which they lived or by the arts and commerce which they cultivated, these conquerors, like a torrent, swept every thing before them, subduing kingdoms and provinces in as short a space of time as was requisite to march through them. But when nations are in a state

similar to each other, and keep equal pace in their advances towards refinement, they are not exposed to the calamity of sudden conquests. Their acquisitions of knowledge, their progress in the art of war, their political sagacity and address, are nearly equal. The fate of states in this situation depends not on a single battle. Their internal resources are many and various. Nor are they themselves alone interested in their own safety, or active in their own defence. Other states interpose, and balance any temporary advantage which either party may have acquired. After the fiercest and most lengthened contest, all the rival nations are exhausted, none are conquered. At length they find it necessary to conclude a peace, which restores to each almost the same power and the same territories of which they were formerly in possession.

Such was the state of Europe during the reign of Charles V. No prince was so much superior to the rest in power as to render his efforts irresistible and his conquest easy. No nation had made progress in improvement so far beyond its neighbors as to have acquired a very manifest pre-eminence. Each state derived some advantage, or was subject to some inconvenience, from its situation or its climate; each was distinguished by something peculiar in the genius of its people or the constitution of its government. But the advantages possesed by one state were counterbalanced by circumstances favorable to others; and this prevented any from attaining such superiority as might have been fatal to all. The nations of Europe in that age, as in the present, were like one great family:

there were some features common to all, which fixed a resemblance; there were certain peculiarities conspicuous in each, which marked a distinction. But there was not among them that wide diversity of character and of genius which, in almost every period of history, hath exalted the Europeans above the inhabitants of the other quarters of the globe, and seems to have destined the one to rule and the other to obey.

But though the near resemblance and equality in improvement among the different nations of Europe prevented the reign of Charles V. from being distinguished by such sudden and extensive conquests as occur in some other periods of history, yet during the course of his administration all the considerable states in Europe suffered a remarkable change in their political situation, and felt the influence of events which have not hitherto spent their force, but still continue to operate in a greater or in a less degree. It was during his reign, and in consequence of the perpetual efforts to which his enterprising ambition roused him, that the different kingdoms of Europe acquired internal vigor; that they discerned the resources of which they were possessed; that they came both to feel their own strength and to know how to render it formidable to others. It was during his reign, too, that the different kingdoms of Europe, which in former times seemed frequently to act as if they had been single and disjoined, became so thoroughly acquainted and so intimately connected with each other as to form one great political system, in which each took a station, wherein it hath

remained since that time with less variation than could have been expected after the events of two active centuries.

The progress, however, and acquisitions of the house of Austria were not only greater than those of any other power, but more discernible and conspicuous. I have already enumerated the extensive territories which descended to Charles from his Austrian, Burgundian, and Spanish ancestors.[28] To these he himself added the imperial dignity; and, as if all this had been too little, the bounds of the habitable globe seemed to be extended, and a new world was subjected to his command. Upon his resignation, the Burgundian provinces, and the Spanish kingdoms with their dependencies, both in the Old and New Worlds, devolved to Philip. But Charles transmitted his dominions to his son in a condition very different from that in which he himself had received them. They were augmented by the accession of new provinces; they were habituated to obey an administration which was no less vigorous than steady; they were accustomed to expensive and persevering efforts, which, though necessary in the contests between civilized nations, had been little known in Europe before the sixteenth century. The provinces of Friesland, Utrecht, and Overyssel, which he acquired by purchase from their former proprietors, and the duchy of Gueldres, of which he made himself master partly by force of arms, partly by the arts of negotiation, were additions of great value to his Burgundian dominions. Ferdinand and Isa-

[28] Vol. ii. p. 4.

bella had transmitted to him all the provinces of Spain, from the bottom of the Pyrenees to the frontiers of Portugal; but, as he maintained a perpetual peace with that kingdom, amidst the various efforts of his enterprising ambition, he made no acquisition of territory in that quarter.

Charles had gained, however, a vast accession of power in this part of his dominions. By his success in the war with the commons of Castile he exalted the regal prerogative upon the ruins of the privileges which formerly belonged to the people. Though he allowed the name of the cortes to remain, and the formality of holding it to be continued, he reduced its authority and jurisdiction almost to nothing, and modelled it in such a manner that it became rather a junto of the servants of the crown than an assembly of the representatives of the people. One member of the constitution being thus lopped off, it was impossible but that the other must feel the stroke and suffer by it. The suppression of the popular power rendered the aristocratical less formidable. The grandees, prompted by the warlike spirit of the age, or allured by the honors which they enjoyed in a court, exhausted their fortunes in military service or in attending on the person of their prince. They did not dread, perhaps did not observe, the dangerous progress of the royal authority, which, leaving them the vain distinction of being covered in presence of their sovereign, stripped them by degrees of that real power which they possessed while they formed one body and acted in concert with the people. Charles's success in abolishing

the privileges of the commons and in breaking the power of the nobles of Castile encouraged Philip to invade the liberties of Aragon, which were still more extensive. The Castilians, accustomed to subjection themselves, assisted in imposing the yoke on their more happy and independent neighbors. The will of the sovereign became the supreme law in all the kingdoms of Spain; and princes who were not checked in forming their plans by the jealousy of the people, nor controlled in executing them by the power of the nobles, could both aim at great objects and call forth the whole strength of the monarchy in order to attain them.

As Charles by extending the royal prerogative rendered the monarchs of Spain masters at home, he added new dignity and power to their crown by his foreign acquisitions. He secured to Spain the quiet possession of the kingdom of Naples, which Ferdinand had usurped by fraud and held with difficulty. He united the duchy of Milan, one of the most fertile and populous Italian provinces, to the Spanish crown, and left his successors, even without taking their other territories into the account, the most considerable princes in Italy, which had been long the theatre of contention to the great powers of Europe, and in which they had struggled with emulation to obtain the superiority. When the French, in conformity to the treaty of Chateau-Cambresis, withdrew their forces out of Italy, and finally relinquished all their schemes of conquest on that side of the Alps, the Spanish dominions there rose in importance, and enabled

their kings, as long as the monarchy retained any degree of vigor, to preserve the chief sway in all the transactions of that country. But whatever accession, either of interior authority or of foreign dominion, Charles gained for the monarchs of Spain in Europe, was inconsiderable when compared with his acquisitions in the New World. He added there, not provinces, but empires, to his crown. He conquered territories of such immense extent, he discovered such inexhaustible veins of wealth, and opened such boundless prospects of every kind, as must have roused his successor, and have called him forth to action, though his ambition had been much less ardent than that of Philip, and must have rendered him not only enterprising, but formidable.

While the elder branch of the Austrian family rose to such pre-eminence in Spain, the younger, of which Ferdinand was the head, grew to be considerable in Germany. The ancient hereditary dominions of the house of Austria in Germany, united to the kingdom of Hungary and Bohemia, which Ferdinand had acquired by marriage, formed a respectable power; and when the imperial dignity was added to these, Ferdinand possessed territories more extensive than had belonged to any prince, Charles V. excepted, who had been at the head of the empire during several ages. Fortunately for Europe, the disgust which Philip conceived on account of Ferdinand's refusing to relinquish the imperial crown in his favor not only prevented for some time the separate members of the house of Austria from acting in concert, but

occasioned between them a visible alienation and rivalship. By degrees, however, regard to the interest of their family extinguished this impolitical animosity. The confidence which was natural returned; the aggrandizing of the house of Austria became the common object of all their schemes; they gave and received assistance alternately towards the execution of them; and each derived consideration and importance from the other's success. A family so great and so aspiring became the general object of jealousy and terror. All the power as well as policy of Europe were exerted during a century in order to check and humble it. Nothing can give a more striking idea of the ascendant which it had acquired than that, after its vigor was spent with extraordinary exertions of its strength, after Spain was become only the shadow of a great name, and its monarchs were sunk into debility and dotage, the house of Austria still continued to be formidable. The nations of Europe had so often felt its superior power, and had been so constantly employed in guarding against it, that the dread of it became a kind of political habit, the influence of which remained when the causes which had formed it ceased to exist.

While the house of Austria went on with such success in enlarging its dominions, France made no considerable acquisition of new territory. All its schemes of conquest in Italy had proved abortive; it had hitherto obtained no establishment of consequence in the New World; and, after the continued and vigorous efforts of four successive reigns, the confines of the kingdom were much the

same as Louis XI. had left them. But, though France made not such large strides towards dominion as the house of Austria, it continued to advance by steps which were more secure, because they were gradual and less observed. The conquest of Calais put it out of the power of the English to invade France but at their utmost peril, and delivered the French from the dread of their ancient enemies, who previous to that event could at any time penetrate into the kingdom by that avenue, and thereby retard or defeat the execution of their best-concerted enterprises against any foreign power. The important acquisition of Metz covered that part of their frontier which formerly was most feeble and lay most exposed to insult. France, from the time of its obtaining these additional securities against external invasion, must be deemed the most powerful kingdom in Europe, and is more fortunately situated than any on the continent, either for conquest or defence. From the confines of Artois to the bottom of the Pyrenees, and from the British Channel to the frontiers of Savoy and the coast of the Mediterranean, its territories lie compact and unmingled with those of any other power. Several of the considerable provinces which had contracted a spirit of independence by their having been long subject to the great vassals of the crown, who were often at variance or at war with their master, were now accustomed to recognize and to obey one sovereign. As they became members of the same monarchy, they assumed the sentiments of that body into which they were incorporated, and co-

operated with zeal towards promoting its interest and honor. The power and influence wrested from the nobles were seized by the crown. The people were not admitted to share in these spoils; they gained no new privilege; they acquired no additional weight in the legislature. It was not for the sake of the people, but in order to extend their own prerogative, that the monarchs of France had labored to humble their great vassals. Satisfied with having brought them under entire subjection to the crown, they discovered no solicitude to free the people from their ancient dependence on the nobles of whom they held, and by whom they were often oppressed.

A monarch at the head of a kingdom thus united at home and secure from abroad was entitled to form great designs, because he felt himself in a condition to execute them. The foreign wars which had continued with little interruption from the accession of Charles VIII. had not only cherished and augmented the martial genius of the nation, but, by inuring the troops during the course of long service to the fatigues of war, and accustoming them to obedience, had added the force of discipline to their natural ardor. A gallant and active body of nobles, who considered themselves as idle and useless unless when they were in the field, who were hardly acquainted with any pastime or exercise but what was military, and who knew no road to power, or fame, or wealth, but war, would not have suffered their sovereign to remain long in inaction. The people, little acquainted with the arts of peace, and always ready

to take arms at the command of their superiors, were accustomed, by the expense of long wars carried on in distant countries, to bear impositions which, however inconsiderable they may seem if estimated by the exorbitant rate of modern exactions, appear immense when compared with the sums levied in France, or in any other country of Europe, previous to the reign of Louis XI. As all the members of which the state was composed were thus impatient for action and capable of great efforts, the schemes and operations of France must have been no less formidable to Europe than those of Spain. The superior advantages of its situation, the contiguity and compactness of its territories, together with the peculiar state of its political constitution at that juncture, must have rendered its enterprises still more alarming and more decisive. The king possessed such a degree of power as gave him the entire command of his subjects; the people were strangers to those occupations and habits of life which render men averse to war or unfit for it; and the nobles, though reduced to the subordination necessary in a regular government, still retained the high undaunted spirit which was the effect of their ancient independence. The vigor of the feudal times remained, their anarchy was at an end; and the kings of France could avail themselves of the martial ardor which that singular institution had kindled or kept alive, without being exposed to the dangers or inconveniences which are inseparable from it when in entire force.

A kingdom in such a state is, perhaps, capable

of greater military efforts at any other period in its progress. But, how formidable or how fatal soever to the other nations of Europe the power of such a monarchy might have been, the civil wars which broke out in France saved them at that juncture from feeling its effects. These wars, of which religion was the pretext and ambition the cause, wherein great abilities were displayed by the leaders of the different factions, and little conduct or firmness was manifested by the crown under a succession of weak princes, kept France occupied and embroiled for half a century. During these commotions the internal strength of the kingdom was much wasted, and such a spirit of anarchy was spread among the nobles, to whom rebellion was familiar and the restraint of laws unknown, that a considerable interval became requisite, not only for recruiting the internal vigor of the nation, but for re-establishing the authority of the prince; so that it was long before France could turn her whole attention towards foreign transactions or act with her proper force in foreign wars. It was long before she rose to that ascendant in Europe which she has maintained since the administration of Cardinal Richelieu, and which the situation as well as extent of the kingdom, the nature of her government, together with the character of her people, entitle her to maintain.

While the kingdoms on the continent grew into power and consequence, England likewise made considerable progress towards regular government and interior strength. Henry VIII., probably without intention, and certainly without any con-

sistent plan, of which his nature was incapable, pursued the scheme of depressing the nobility, which the policy of his father, Henry VII., had begun. The pride and caprice of his temper led him to employ chiefly new men in the administration of affairs, because he found them most obsequious or least scrupulous; and he not only conferred on them such plenitude of power but exalted them to such pre-eminence in dignity as mortified and degraded the ancient nobility. By the alienation or sale of the church lands, which were dissipated with a profusion not inferior to the rapaciousness with which they had been seized, as well as by the privilege granted to the ancient landholders of selling their estates or disposing of them by will, an immense property, formerly locked up, was brought into circulation. This put the spirit of industry and commerce in motion, and gave it some considerable degree of vigor. The road to power and to opulence became open to persons of every condition. A sudden and excessive flow of wealth from the West Indies proved fatal to industry in Spain; a moderate accession in England to the sum in circulation gave life to commerce, awakened the ingenuity of the nation, and excited it to useful enterprise. In France, what the nobles lost the crown gained. In England, the commons were gainers as well as the king. Power and influence accompanied, of course, the property which they acquired. They rose to consideration among their fellow-subjects; they began to feel their own importance; and, extending their influence in the legislative body

gradually, and often when neither they themselves nor others foresaw all the effects of their claims and pretensions, they at last attained that high authority to which the British constitution is indebted for the existence, and must owe the preservation, of its liberty. At the same time that the English constitution advanced towards perfection, several circumstances brought on a change in the ancient system with respect to foreign powers, and introduced another more beneficial to the nation. As soon as Henry disclaimed the supremacy of the papal see and broke off all connection with the papal court, considerable sums were saved to the nation, of which it had been annually drained by remittances to Rome for dispensations and indulgences, by the expense of pilgrimages into foreign countries,[29] or by payment of annates, first-fruits, and a thousand other taxes, which that artful and rapacious court levied on the credulity of mankind. The exercise of a jurisdiction different from that of the civil power, and claiming not only to be independent of it but superior to it, a wild solecism in government, apt not only to perplex and disquiet weak minds, but tending directly to disturb society, was finally abolished. Government became more simple, as well as more respectable, when no rank or character exempted any

[29] The loss which the nation sustained by most of these articles is obvious, and must have been great. Even that by pilgrimages was not inconsiderable. In the year 1428, license was obtained by no fewer than nine hundred and sixteen persons to visit the shrine of St. James of Compostella in Spain. (Rymer, vol. x. p. ..) In 1434, the number of pilgrims to the same place was two thousand four hundred and sixty. (Ibid., p. ..) In 1445, they were two thousand one hundred. (Ibid., vol. xi. p. ..)

person from being amenable to the same courts as other subjects, from being tried by the same judges, and from being acquitted or condemned by the same laws.

By the loss of Calais the English were excluded from the continent. All schemes for invading France became, of course, as chimerical as they had formerly been pernicious. The views of the English were confined, first by necessity and afterwards from choice, within their own island. That rage for conquest which had possessed the nation during many centuries, and wasted its strength in perpetual and fruitless wars, ceased at length. Those active spirits which had known and followed no profession but war sought for occupation in the arts of peace, and their country was benefited as much by the one as it had suffered by the other. The nation, which had been exhausted by frequent expeditions to the continent, recruited its numbers and acquired new strength; and when roused by any extraordinary exigency to take part in foreign operations, the vigor of its efforts was proportionally great, because they were only occasional and of short continuance.

The same principle which had led England to adopt this new system with regard to the powers on the continent occasioned a change in its plan of conduct with respect to Scotland, the only foreign state with which, on account of its situation in the same island, the English had such a close connection as demanded their perpetual attention. Instead of prosecuting the ancient scheme of conquering that kingdom, which the nature of the

country, defended by a brave and hardy people, rendered dangerous, if not impracticable, it appeared more eligible to endeavor at obtaining such influence in Scotland as might exempt England from any danger or disquiet from that quarter. The national poverty of the Scots, together with the violence and animosity of their factions, rendered the execution of this plan easy to a people far superior to them in wealth. The leading men of greatest power and popularity were gained; the ministers and favorites of the crown were corrupted; and such absolute direction of the Scottish councils was acquired as rendered the operations of the one kingdom dependent in a great measure on the sovereign of the other. Such perfect external security, added to the interior advantages which England now possessed, must soon have raised it to new consideration and importance; the long reign of Elizabeth, equally conspicuous for wisdom, for steadiness, and for vigor, accelerated its progress, and carried it with greater rapidity towards that elevated station which it hath since held among the powers of Europe.

During the period in which the political state of the great kingdoms underwent such changes, revolutions of considerable importance happened in that of the secondary or inferior powers. Those in the papal court are most obvious and of most extensive consequence.

In the preliminary book I have mentioned the rise of that spiritual jurisdiction which the popes claim as vicars of Jesus Christ, and have traced the progress of that authority which they possess as

temporal princes.[30] Previous to the reign of Charles V. there was nothing that tended to circumscribe or to moderate their authority but science and philosophy, which began to revive and to be cultivated. The progress of these, however, was still inconsiderable; they always operate slowly; and it is long before their influence reaches the people or can produce any sensible effect upon them. They may perhaps gradually, and in a long course of years, undermine and shake an established system of false religion, but there is no instance of their having overturned one. The battery is too feeble to demolish those fabrics which superstition raises on deep foundations and can strengthen with the most consummate art.

Luther had attacked the papal supremacy with other weapons and with an impetuosity more formidable. The time and manner of his attack concurred with a multitude of circumstances, which have been explained, in giving him immediate success. The charm which had bound mankind for so many ages was broken at once. The human mind, which had continued long as tame and passive as if it had been formed to believe whatever was taught and to bear whatever was imposed, roused of a sudden, and became inquisitive, mutinous, and disdainful of the yoke to which it had hitherto submitted. That wonderful ferment and agitation of mind, which at this distance of time appears unaccountable or is condemned as extravagant, was so general that it must have been excited by causes which were natural and of powerful efficacy. The

[30] Vol. i. p. 140, etc.

kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, England, and Scotland, and almost one-half of Germany, threw off their allegiance to the pope, abolished his jurisdiction within their territories, and gave the sanction of law to modes of discipline and systems of doctrine which were not only independent of his power but hostile to it. Nor was the spirit of innovation confined to those countries which openly revolted from the pope; it spread through all Europe, and broke out in every part of it, with various degrees of violence. It penetrated early into France, and made a quick progress there. In that kingdom the number of converts to the opinions of the Reformers was so great, their zeal so enterprising, and the abilities of their leaders so distinguished, that they soon ventured to contend for superiority with the established Church, and were sometimes on the point of obtaining it. In all the provinces of Germany which continued to acknowledge the papal supremacy, as well as in the Low Countries, the Protestant doctrines were secretly taught, and had gained so many proselytes that they were ripe for revolt, and were restrained merely by the dread of their rulers from imitating the example of their neighbors and asserting their independence. Even in Spain and in Italy, symptoms of the same disposition to shake off the yoke appeared. The pretensions of the pope to infallible knowledge and supreme power were treated by many persons of eminent learning and abilities with such scorn, or attacked with such vehemence, that the most vigilant attention of the civil magistrate, the highest strains of pontifical

authority, and all the rigor of inquisitorial jurisdiction, were requisite to check and extinguish it.

The defection of so many opulent and powerful kingdoms from the papal see was a fatal blow to its grandeur and power. It abridged the dominions of the popes in extent; it diminished their revenues, and left them fewer rewards to bestow on the ecclesiastics of various denominations, attached to them by vows of obedience as well as by ties of interest, and whom they employed as instruments to establish or support their usurpations in every part of Europe. The countries, too, which now disclaimed their authority were those which formerly had been most devoted to it. The empire of superstition differs from every other species of dominion; its power is often greatest and most implicitly obeyed in the provinces most remote from the seat of government; while such as are situated nearer to that are more apt to discern the artifices by which it is upheld, or the impostures on which it is founded. The personal frailties or vices of the popes, the errors as well as corruption of their administration, the ambition, venality, and deceit which reigned in their courts, fell immediately under the observation of the Italians, and could not fail of diminishing that respect which begets submission. But in Germany, England, and the more remote parts of Europe, these were either altogether unknown, or, being only known by report, made a slighter impression. Veneration for the papal dignity increased accordingly in these countries in proportion to their distance from Rome; and that veneration, added to their gross

ignorance, rendered them equally credulous and passive. In tracing the progress of the papal domination, the boldest and most successful instances of encroachment are to be found in Germany and other countries distant from Italy. In these its impositions were heaviest and its exactions the most rapacious; so that, in estimating the diminution of power which the court of Rome suffered in consequence of the Reformation, not only the number but the character of the people who revolted, not only the great extent of territory but the extraordinary obsequiousness of the subjects which it lost, must be taken into the account.

Nor was it only by this defection of so many kingdoms and states which the Reformation occasioned that it contributed to diminish the power of the Roman pontiffs. It obliged them to adopt a different system of conduct towards the nations which still continued to recognize their jurisdiction, and to govern them by new maxims and with a milder spirit. The Reformation taught them, by a fatal example, what they seem not before to have apprehended, that the credulity and patience of mankind might be overburdened and exhausted. They became afraid of venturing upon any such exertion of their authority as might alarm or exasperate their subjects and excite them to a new revolt. They saw a rival Church established in many countries of Europe, the members of which were on the watch to observe any errors in their administration, and eager to expose them. They were sensible that the opinions adverse to their power and usurpations were not adopted by their

enemies alone, but had spread even among the people who still adhered to them. Upon all these accounts, it was no longer possible to lead or to govern their flock in the same manner as in those dark and quiet ages when faith was implicit, when submission was unreserved, and all tamely followed and obeyed the voice of their pastor. From the era of the Reformation, the popes have ruled rather by address and management than by authority. Though the style of their decrees be still the same, the effect of them is very different. Those bulls and interdicts which, before the Reformation, made the greatest princes tremble, have since that period been disregarded or despised by the most inconsiderable. Those bold decisions and acts of jurisdiction which, during many ages, not only passed uncensured but were revered as the awards of a sacred tribunal, would, since Luther's appearance, be treated by one part of Europe as the effect of folly or arrogance, and be detested by the other as impious and unjust. The popes, in their administration, have been obliged not only to accommodate themselves to the notions of their adherents, but to pay some regard to the prejudices of their enemies. They seldom venture to claim new powers, or even to insist obstinately on their ancient prerogatives, lest they should irritate the former; they carefully avoid every measure that may either excite the indignation or draw on them the derision of the latter. The policy of the court of Rome has become as cautious, circumspect, and timid as it was once adventurous and violent; and though their pretensions to infalli-

bility, on which all their authority is founded, do not allow them to renounce any jurisdiction which they have at any time claimed or exercised, they find it expedient to suffer many of their prerogatives to lie dormant, and not to expose themselves to the risk of losing that remainder of power which they still enjoy, by ill-timed attempts towards reviving obsolete pretensions. Before the sixteenth century, the popes were the movers and directors in every considerable enterprise; they were at the head of every great alliance; and, being considered as arbiters in the affairs of Christendom, the court of Rome was the centre of political negotiation and intrigue. Since that time, the greatest operations in Europe have been carried on independent of them; they have sunk almost to a level with the other petty princes of Italy; they continue to claim, though they dare not exercise, the same spiritual jurisdiction, but hardly retain any shadow of the temporal power which they anciently possessed.

But how fatal soever the Reformation may have been to the power of the popes, it has contributed to improve the Church of Rome both in science and in morals. The desire of equalling the Reformers in those talents which had procured them respect, the necessity of acquiring the knowledge requisite for defending their own tenets or refuting the arguments of their opponents, together with the emulation natural between two rival churches, engaged the Roman Catholic clergy to apply themselves to the study of useful science, which they cultivated with such assiduity and suc-

cess that they have gradually become as eminent in literature as they were in some periods infamous for ignorance. The same principle occasioned a change no less considerable in the morals of the Romish clergy. Various causes, which have formerly been enumerated, had concurred in introducing great irregularity, and even dissolution of manners, among the popish clergy. Luther and his adherents began their attack on the Church with such vehement invectives against these, that, in order to remove the scandal and silence their declamations, greater decency of conduct became necessary. The Reformers themselves were so eminent not only for the purity but even austerity of their manners, and had acquired such reputation among the people on that account, that the Roman Catholic clergy must have soon lost all credit if they had not endeavored to conform in some measure to their standard. They knew that all their actions fell under the severe inspection of the Protestants, whom enmity and emulation prompted to observe every vice, or even impropriety, in their conduct, to censure them without indulgence, and to expose them without mercy. This rendered them, of course, not only cautious to avoid such enormities as might give offence, but studious to acquire the virtues which might merit praise. In Spain and Portugal, where the tyrannical jurisdiction of the Inquisition crushed the Protestant faith as soon as it appeared, the spirit of Popery continues invariable; science has made small progress, and the character of ecclesiastics has undergone little change. But

in those countries where the members of the two Churches have mingled freely with each other, or have carried on any considerable intercourse, either commercial or literary, an extraordinary alteration in the ideas as well as in the morals of the popish ecclesiastics is manifest. In France, the manners of the dignitaries and secular clergy have become decent and exemplary in a high degree. Many of them have been distinguished for all the accomplishments and virtues which can adorn their profession, and differ greatly from their predecessors before the Reformation, both in their maxims and in their conduct.

Nor has the influence of the Reformation been felt only by the inferior members of the Roman Catholic Church; it has extended to the see of Rome, to the sovereign pontiffs themselves. Violations of decorum, and even trespasses against morality, which passed without censure in those ages when neither the power of the popes nor the veneration of the people for their character had any bounds,—when there was no hostile eye to observe the errors in their conduct, and no adversaries zealous to inveigh against them,—would be liable now to the severest animadversion, and excite general indignation or horror. Instead of rivalling the courts of temporal princes in gayety and surpassing them in licentiousness, the popes have studied to assume manners more severe and more suitable to their ecclesiastical character. The chair of St. Peter hath not been polluted, during two centuries, by any pontiff that resembled Alexander VI., or several of his predecessors, who were

a disgrace to religion and to human nature. Throughout this long succession of popes, a wonderful decorum of conduct, compared with that of preceding ages, is observable. Many of them, especially among the pontiffs of the present century, have been conspicuous for all the virtues becoming their high station, and by their humanity, their love of literature, and their moderation, have made some atonement to mankind for the crimes of their predecessors. Thus the beneficial influences of the Reformation have been more extensive than they appear on a superficial view; and this great division in the Christian Church hath contributed, in some measure, to increase purity of manners, to diffuse science, and to inspire humanity. History recites such a number of shocking events occasioned by religious dissensions that it must afford peculiar satisfaction to trace any one salutary or beneficial effect to that source from which so many fatal calamities have flowed.

The republic of Venice, which at the beginning of the sixteenth century had appeared so formidable that almost all the potentates of Europe united in a confederacy for its destruction, declined gradually from its ancient power and splendor. The Venetians not only lost a great part of their territory in the war excited by the League of Cambray, but the revenues as well as vigor of the state were exhausted by their extraordinary and long-continued efforts in their own defence; and that commerce by which they had acquired their wealth and power began to decay, without any hopes of its reviving. All the fatal

consequences to their republic, which the sagacity of the Venetian senate foresaw on the first discovery of a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, actually took place. Their endeavors to prevent the Portuguese from establishing themselves in the East Indies, not only by exciting the soldans of Egypt, and the Ottoman monarchs, to turn their arms against such dangerous intruders, but by affording secret aid to the infidels in order to insure their success,[31] proved ineffectual. The activity and valor of the Portuguese surmounted every obstacle, and obtained such a firm footing in that fertile country as secured to them large possessions, together with an influence still more extensive. Lisbon, instead of Venice, became the staple for the precious commodities of the East. The Venetians, after having possessed for many years the monopoly of that beneficial commerce, had the mortification to be excluded from almost any share in it. The discoveries of the Spaniards in the Western World proved no less fatal to inferior branches of their commerce. The original defects which were formerly pointed out in the constitution of the Venetian republic still continued, and the disadvantages with which it undertook any great enterprise increased rather than diminished. The sources from which it derived its extraordinary riches and power being dried up, the interior vigor of the state declined, and, of course, its external operations became less formidable. Long before the middle of the sixteenth century, Venice ceased to be one of

[31] Freher., Script. Rer. German., vol. ii. p. 529.

the principal powers in Europe, and dwindled into a secondary and subaltern state. But, as the senate had the address to conceal the diminution of its power, under the veil of moderation and caution, as it made no rash effort that could discover its weakness, as the symptoms of political decay in states are not soon observed, and are seldom so apparent to their neighbors as to occasion any sudden alteration in their conduct towards them, Venice continued long to be considered and respected. She was treated not according to her present condition, but according to the rank which she had formerly held. Charles V., as well as the kings of France, his rivals, courted her assistance with emulation and solicitude in all their enterprises. Even down to the close of the century, Venice remained not only an object of attention, but a considerable seat of political negotiation and intrigue.

That authority which the first Cosmo de' Medici, and Lawrence, his grandson, had acquired in the republic of Florence by their beneficence and abilities, inspired their descendants with the ambition of usurping the sovereignty in their country, and paved their way towards it. Charles V. placed Alexander de' Medici at the head of the republic, and to the natural interest and power of the family added the weight as well as credit of the imperial protection. Of these, his successor Cosmo, surnamed the Great, availed himself; and, establishing his supreme authority on the ruins of the ancient republican constitution, he transmitted that, together with the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany, to his descendants. Their

dominions were composed of the territories which had belonged to the three commonwealths of Florence, Pisa, and Siena, and formed one of the most respectable of the Italian states.

The dukes of Savoy, during the former part of the sixteenth century, possessed territories which were not considerable either for extent or value; and the French, having seized the greater part of them, obliged the reigning duke to retire for safety to the strong fortress of Nice, where he shut himself up for several years, while his son, the prince of Piedmont, endeavored to better his fortune by serving as an adventurer in the armies of Spain. The peace of Chateau-Cambresis restored to him his paternal dominions. As these are environed on every hand by powerful neighbors, all whose motions the dukes of Savoy must observe with the greatest attention, in order not only to guard against the danger of being surprised and overpowered, but that they may choose their side with discernment in those quarrels wherein it is impossible for them to avoid taking part, this peculiarity of their situation seems to have had no inconsiderable influence on their character. By rousing them to perpetual attention, by keeping their ingenuity always on the stretch, and engaging them in almost continual action, it hath formed a race of princes more sagacious in discovering their true interests, more decisive in their resolutions, and more dexterous in availing themselves of every occurrence which presented itself, than any, perhaps, that can be singled out in the history of Europe. By gradual acquisitions the

dukes of Savoy have added to their territories, as well as to their own importance; and, aspiring at length to regal dignity, which they obtained about half a century ago, by the title of kings of Sardinia, they hold now no inconsiderable rank among the monarchs of Europe.

The territories which form the republic of the United Netherlands were lost, during the first part of the sixteenth century, among the numerous provinces subject to the house of Austria, and were then so inconsiderable that hardly one opportunity of mentioning them hath occurred in all the busy period of this history. But soon after the peace of Chateau-Cambresis the violent and bigoted maxims of Philip's government, being carried into execution with unrelenting rigor by the duke of Alva, exasperated the people of the Low Countries to such a degree that they threw off the Spanish yoke and asserted their ancient liberties and laws. These they defended with persevering valor, which gave employment to the arms of Spain during half a century, exhausted the vigor, ruined the reputation of that monarchy, and at last constrained their ancient masters to recognize and to treat with them as a free and independent state. This state, founded on liberty and reared by industry and economy, grew into great reputation, even while struggling for its existence. But when peace and security allowed it to enlarge its views and to extend its commerce, it rose to be one of the most respectable as well as enterprising powers in Europe.

The transactions of the kingdoms in the north

of Europe have been seldom attended to in the course of this history.

Russia remained buried in that barbarism and obscurity from which it was called about the beginning of the present century by the creative genius of Peter the Great, who made his country known and formidable to the rest of Europe.

In Denmark and Sweden, during the reign of Charles V., great revolutions happened in their constitutions, civil as well as ecclesiastical. In the former kingdom, a tyrant being degraded from the throne and expelled the country, a new prince was called by the voice of the people to assume the reins of government. In the latter, a fierce people, roused to arms by injuries and oppression, shook off the Danish yoke, and conferred the regal dignity on its deliverer, Gustavus Ericson, who had all the virtues of a hero and of a patriot. Denmark, exhausted by foreign wars or weakened by the dissensions between the king and the nobles, became incapable of such efforts as were requisite in order to recover the ascendant which it had long possessed in the north of Europe. Sweden, as soon as it was freed from the dominion of strangers, began to recruit its strength, and acquired in a short time such internal vigor that it became the first kingdom in the North. Early in the subsequent century it rose to such a high rank among the powers of Europe that it had the chief merit in forming, as well as conducting, that powerful league which protected not only the Protestant religion but the liberties of Germany against the bigotry and ambition of the house of Austria.

THE LIFE

OF

CHARLES THE FIFTH

AFTER

HIS ABDICATION

INTRODUCTION

IN the Advertisement I have noticed the existence of sundry documents in the Archives of Simancas which give an entirely new complexion to the life of Charles the Fifth after his abdication. The manner in which these documents have been brought before the public forms a curious chapter in literary history; and the account which I have given of it at the close of the First Book of the History of Philip the Second may not be unacceptable to the reader:

"While the manuscripts of Simancas were hidden from the world, a learned keeper of the archives, Don Tomas Gonzalez, discontented with the unworthy view which had been given of the latter days of Charles the Fifth, had profited by the materials which lay around him, to exhibit his life at Yuste in a new and more authentic light. To the volume which he compiled for this purpose he gave the title '*Retiro, Estancia y Muerte del Emperador Carlos Quinto en el Monasterio de Yuste.*' The work, the principal value of which consists in the copious extracts with which it is furnished from the correspondence of Charles and his household, was suffered by the author to remain in manuscript; and at his death it passed into the hands of his brother, who prepared a summary of its contents, and endeavored to dispose of the volume at a price so exorbitant that it remained for many years without a purchaser. It was finally bought by the French government at a greatly reduced price,—four thousand francs. It may seem strange that it should have brought even this sum, since the time of the sale was that in which the new arrangements were made for giving admission to the archives that contained the original documents on which the Gonzalez MS. was founded. The work thus bought by the French government was transferred to the Archives des Affaires Étrangères, then under the direction of M. Mignet. The manuscript could not be in better hands than in those of a scholar who has so successfully carried the torch of criticism into some of the darkest passages of Spanish history. His occupations, however, took him in another direction; and for eight years the Gonzalez MS. remained as completely hidden from the world in the Parisian archives as it had been in those of Simancas. When at length it was applied to the historical uses for which it had been intended it was through the agency, not of a French, but of a British writer. This was Mr. Stirling, the author of the 'Annals of the Artists of Spain,'—a work honorable to its author for the familiarity it shows not only with the state of the arts in that country, but also with its literature.

"Mr. Stirling, during a visit to the Peninsula in 1849, made a

pilgrimage to Yuste; and the traditions and hoary reminiscences gathered round the spot left such an impression on the traveller's mind that on his return to England he made them the subject of two elaborate papers in Fraser's Magazine, in the numbers for April and May, 1851. Although these spirited essays rested wholly on printed works, which had long been accessible to the scholar, they were found to contain many new and highly interesting details; showing how superficially Mr. Stirling's predecessors had examined the records of the emperor's residence at Yuste. Still, in his account the author had omitted the most important feature of Charles's monastic life,—the influence which he exercised on the administration of the kingdom. This was to be gathered from the manuscripts of Simancas.

"Mr. Stirling, who through that inexhaustible repository, the Hand-book of Spain, had become acquainted with the existence of the Gonzalez MS., was, at the time of writing his essays, ignorant of its fate. On learning afterwards where it was to be found, he visited Paris, and, having obtained access to the volume, so far profited by its contents as to make them the basis of a separate work, which he entitled 'The Cloister Life of Charles the Fifth.' It soon attracted the attention of scholars, both at home and abroad, went through several editions, and was received, in short, with an avidity which showed both the importance attached to the developments the author had made, and the attractive form in which he had presented them to the reader.

"The Parisian scholars were now stimulated to turn to account the treasure which had remained so long neglected on their shelves. In 1854, less than two years after the appearance of Mr. Stirling's book, M. Amédée Pichot published his '*Chronique de Charles-Quint*,' a work which, far from being confined to the latter days of the emperor, covers the whole range of his biography, presenting a large amount of information in regard to his personal habits, as well as to the interior organization of his government and the policy which directed it. The whole is enriched, moreover, by a multitude of historical incidents, that may be regarded rather as subsidiary than essential to the conduct of the narrative, which is enlivened by much ingenious criticism on the state of manners, arts, and moral culture of the period.

"It was not long after the appearance of this work that M. Gachard, whom I have elsewhere noticed as having been commissioned by the Belgian government to make extensive researches in the Archives of Simancas, gave to the public some of the fruits of his labors, in the first volume of his '*Retraite et Mort de Charles-Quint.*' It is devoted to the letters of the emperor and his household, which form the staple of the Gonzalez MS.; thus placing at the disposition of the future biographer of Charles the original materials with which to reconstruct the history of his latter days.

"Lastly came the work, long expected, of M. Mignet, '*Charles-Quint; son Abdication, son Séjour, et sa Mort au Monastère de Yuste.*' It was the reproduction, in a more extended and elaborate form, of a series of papers the first of which appeared shortly after the publication of Mr. Stirling's book. In this work the French author takes the clear and comprehensive view of his subject so characteristic of his genius. The difficult and debatable points he discusses with acuteness and precision; and the whole story of Charles's monastic life he presents in so luminous an aspect to the reader as leaves nothing further to be desired.

"The critic may take some interest in comparing the different manners in which the several writers have dealt with the subject, each according to his own taste or the bent of his genius. Thus, through Stirling's more free and familiar narrative there runs a pleasant vein of humor, with piquancy enough to give it a relish, showing the author's sensibility to the ludicrous, for which Charles's stingy habits and excessive love of good cheer, even in the convent, furnish frequent occasion.

"Quite a different conception is formed by Mignet of the emperor's character, which he has cast in the true heroic mould, not deigning to recognize a single defect, however slight, which may at all impair the majesty of the proportions. Finally, Amédée Pichot, instead of the classical, may be said to have conformed to the romantic school, in the arrangement of his subject, indulging in various picturesque episodes, which he has, however, combined so successfully with the main body of the narrative as not to impair the unity of interest.

"Whatever may be thought of the comparative merits of these eminent writers in the execution of their task, the effect of their labors has undoubtedly been to make that the plainest which was before the most obscure portion of the history of Charles the Fifth."

I may add to this account that, since the publication of the History of Philip the Second, M. Gachard has given to the world his second volume of the "*Retraite et Mort de Charles-Quint*," containing some additional information of interest in regard to Charles's convent life, by which I have not failed to profit.

BOOK I

The Convent of Yuste—Charles's Departure from the Netherlands —His Voyage to Spain—His Progress through the Country—Reception at Valladolid—Journey to Jarandilla—His Residence there—Discontent of his Household—His Visitors—Pernicious Indulgence of his Appetite—His Removal to Yuste

THE emperor Charles the Fifth had conceived the design of resigning his sceptre, and withdrawing from the world, many years before he put it into execution. This appears from a conversation which he had soon after his abdication with the Portuguese envoy, Lorenzo Pires de Tavora, in which the emperor remarked that soon after the capture of Tunis, in 1535, he had formed the purpose of abdicating his crown. This was in the prime of life, in the meridian of his glory, when his arms had just been crowned with a brilliant victory. The despondency into which he was thrown by the death of his beautiful and beloved consort, Isabella of Portugal, some five years later, heightened still further his disgust with the world. The tender age of his son, Philip, induced him to defer the immediate execution of his plan, which was still further postponed by the weighty affairs that pressed on him, and especially by the religious wars in which he was involved in Germany. When at length the hour of his abdication did arrive, it found him broken in health, and with spirits greatly depressed by the series of reverses

which had gathered like dark clouds round the evening of his reign. He lamented to the Portuguese ambassador that he had not earlier taken this step, when he could have done it so much more gracefully, while his fame was not yet tarnished by defeat.

The place selected by Charles for his retreat was the Jeronymite monastery of Yuste, in Spain, situated at the base of a mountain-ridge that traverses the north of Estremadura. The order of St. Jerome is Spanish in its origin, which dates as far back as the latter part of the fourteenth century. Humble in its beginning, it soon rose, under the patronage of princes and the benefactions of the pious, to high consideration. Its domains extended over every part of the Peninsula, and its convents, occupying the most picturesque situations, sometimes assumed the aspect, and almost the dimensions, of castellated towns. The growing reputation of the brotherhood kept pace with the prosperous condition of their fortunes. If in point of scholarship they could not boast such names as some other fraternities, they might challenge a comparison with any for the decorum, and even sanctity, of their lives, for the pomp and splendor of their religious services, and for the munificence with which they dispensed their charities to the poor. Ferdinand the Catholic, by no means prodigal of his money, even towards the Church, endowed more than one monastery of the order. Charles the Fifth honored it still further by selecting Yuste, as we have seen, for the place of his retreat; and Philip the Second distin-

guished it from every other fraternity by lodging its members in the palace-convent of the Escorial.

The community at Yuste was among the most ancient houses of the order, dating from the year 1404. The name, which some writers have incorrectly called St. Just, or St. Justus, was derived from no saint, but from a little stream that gushed from the neighboring hills. The handful of monks, of which the convent consisted at the beginning, were sorely annoyed by the depredations and insults to which they were exposed from a neighboring monastery of a rival order. They were subsequently placed by their superior under the protection of the counts of Oropesa, who possessed large patrimonial estates in that quarter of the country. In process of time the little community grew in opulence and strength so as to be able to protect itself. Its broad acres extended far over the cultivated *vera;* its convent was surrounded with orange-gardens and orchards; the buildings gradually expanded from diminutive cloisters into the ampler dimensions required for the accommodation of the increased number of the inmates, and not long before the arrival of Charles had been enlarged by a spacious quadrangle, that displayed the more elegant style of architecture which had been recently introduced from Italy.

In the hour of their prosperity the monks of Yuste fully vindicated the reputation for hospitality belonging to their order. Their doors were freely opened to the pilgrim; their board was bountifully spread for the poor who craved alms at the convent gate; and the good brethren, to

whom long practice had given a skill that almost amounted to science, were never weary of administering relief to the sick and the infirm.

How Charles came to choose this secluded spot in Estremadura as the place of his retreat is not very clear. There is no evidence that he had ever seen it. Yet, as he is known to have resided more than once in its neighborhood, he may possibly have strayed over the beautiful *vera*, or at least have gathered such reports of it from those in the country as pleased his fancy. And certainly it was the place of all others best suited to his purpose. Nestling among the dark forests of oak and chestnut that clothed the sides and descended to the lower slopes of the sierra, the convent of Yuste looked down on the cultivated plain which stretched for some leagues in an unbroken expanse towards the city of Plasencia. In the depths of these sylvan solitudes the monarch might indulge in all the luxury of a life of quiet contemplation, while he would not be too far removed from means of intercourse with the world, with which, as we shall see hereafter, he was still, in his retirement, to maintain a lively sympathy.

Charles had obtained a plan from two of the best architects in Spain for the construction of such a dwelling, to be attached to the convent, as should answer for the accommodation of himself and the few followers who were to accompany him to his retreat. He had advised Philip of his intention to build, and afterwards had directed his son to visit the spot in person and quicken the operations of those who had charge of the work. But it

was not in the power either of Charles or Philip to change the laws of nature, or to accelerate the sluggish movements of the Spaniard. More than two years had elapsed, and, though the plan of the building was extremely simple, the work was far from being completed. The emperor's impatience could brook no further delay. But there was good reason to fear that on his arrival at Yuste the mansion would not be ready for his reception.

On the eighth of August, 1556, Charles quitted Brussels and took his way to the port of Flushing, where a fleet of fifty-six vessels was waiting to escort him and his retinue to Spain. He was accompanied by a number of Flemish lords, some few of whom were to attend him on his voyage. Among these was Florence de Montmorency, baron of Montigny, the unfortunate nobleman afterwards doomed by his sovereign to an obscure and ignominious death. In the company were also two sisters of the emperor, the dowager queens of Hungary and Portugal. The former and younger of these, Mary, had lately held the post of regent of the Netherlands, where her vigorous rule had for many years put a curb on the free and independent spirit of the people. In her masculine qualities she formed a striking contrast to her amiable sister, the once beautiful Eleanor, the ill-assorted bride of Francis the First, and, after his death, married to the king of Portugal, whom she had also survived. She was a year older than the emperor, who had always regarded her with peculiar affection, which he intimated in his corre-

spondence by usually addressing her as "*ma meilleure sœur.*" The royal ladies, who held their brother in the greatest reverence, like him were weary of the world, and wished for the remainder of their days to enjoy the sweets of domestic privacy. They would have accompanied Charles to his place of retirement. But, as that could not be, they proposed to seek out some quiet spot in the Peninsula, as little removed as might be from the monastic residence of the emperor.

The imperial train was yet further swelled by a considerable number of followers, who were to be permanently retained in the service of the monarch. The emperor's household had been formed on the splendid model of the Burgundian court. It had consisted of no less than seven hundred and sixty-two persons. From these he now selected one hundred and fifty to attend him to Spain, of whom somewhat more than a third were to remain with him at Yuste. Among the number were his major-domo, his physician, his secretaries, his chamberlains, and other functionaries, intimating that, though he had chosen a monastery as the place of his residence, he had no intention of leading the life of a monk.

Philip joined his father at Ghent.[1] There the emperor, tenderly embracing his son, bade him adieu, and left him to assume that burden of sov-

[1] So says Vandernesse, in opposition to some other authorities. His name, however, outweighs them all. He filled an important office in the household of the emperor, and afterwards in that of his son. His work, which is a simple itinerary, is still in manuscript, and copies of it are not readily met with. My own copy is from a manuscript in the Imperial Library of Vienna.

ereignty which had pressed so heavily on his own declining years. Charles continued his way to the coast, where, on the thirteenth of September, he embarked on board the Bertendona, a Biscayan vessel of five hundred and sixty-five tons, which had been fitted up expressly for his accommodation. The emperor's cabin, which was on the upper deck, consisted of two large apartments, and two smaller rooms, or cabinets. It was furnished with eight windows, which commanded views in every direction. The wood-work was curiously carved, and hung with green drapery. The bed, as well as some of the heavier arm-chairs, was suspended by ropes from the ceiling, that the emperor's gouty limbs might be as little incommoded as possible by the motion of the vessel. On the same deck accommodations were provided for some of his principal attendants; while below, ample space was allotted to the royal kitchen, and to the larder, which was bountifully supplied with stores for the voyage.

His two sisters, with their retinues, had quarters prepared for them in a Flemish vessel. On the thirteenth the fleet weighed anchor, but, encountering a head-wind, was detained at Rammekens, where Charles, on the morning of the seventeenth, received a final visit from his son, who had lingered at Ghent. On the afternoon of the same day the fleet took its departure.

It was on the seventh of September, 1517, thirty-nine years before this, that Charles had quitted these same shores on a visit to Spain, whither he was going to receive the rich inheritance which

had descended to him from his grandparents, Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic. He was then in the morning of life, just entering on a career as splendid as ever opened to young ambition. How different must have been the reflections which now crowded on his mind, as, with wasted health, and spirits sorely depressed, he embarked on the same voyage! He had run the race of glory, had won the prize, and found that all was vanity. He was now returning to the goal whence he had started, anxious only to reach some quiet spot where he might lay down his weary limbs and be at rest.[2]

In passing through the Channel, the course of the fleet was again interrupted by contrary winds. While it lay off Dover, the lord high admiral came out with a squadron of five ships, desirous to pay his respects to the father-in-law of his queen. He was received on board, and permitted to kiss the emperor's hand. A favorable breeze sprung up as the fleet neared the Isle of Wight, and, continuing to blow for several days, enabled Charles to hold his course without further delay till he reached the coast of Spain. Fortunately, the propitious state of the weather allowed the emperor to effect his landing without inconvenience, on the twenty-eighth of September, in the ancient port of Laredo. But scarcely had he set foot on shore when the wind freshened into a tempest, which scattered his little navy, compelling the ship bearing the queens to take refuge in the neighboring

[2] I am indebted to Gachard for the suggestion of this striking contrast.

port of Santander, and doing much damage to some merchant-vessels off the coast, one of which, with its crew on board, went to the bottom. This disaster is so far embellished by the chroniclers of the time, that, giving a touch of the marvellous to the account, they represent the lost ship to have been the emperor's, and that it went down as soon as he had left it. If this were so, it would be still more marvellous that no allusion to the circumstance should be found in any of the letters—of which we have several—from members of Charles's household while at Laredo.

As little do we find mention made of another extraordinary circumstance reported by the historians, who tell us that the emperor, on landing, prostrated himself on the earth, exclaiming, "O thou common mother of mankind, naked came I from thy bosom, and naked I return to it!" The incident, however edifying in the moral it may convey, has no better foundation than the invention of writers, who, far removed from the scene of action, and ignorant of what really took place there, were willing, by the exhibition of startling contrasts, to stimulate the imagination of their readers.

Charles, on landing, found his patience put to a severe trial by the scanty preparations made for his reception. An epidemic had broken out on the voyage, which had carried off several of the men, while others remained dangerously ill. There were no physicians in Laredo, and scarcely accommodations for the well, much less for the sick. The emperor had directed that six chaplains should be

there to meet him. Their spiritual services, in the present state of his followers, were more than ever required. He had expected, moreover, to find a considerable sum of money for the payment of the fleet and for defraying the expenses of the voyage. There was nothing of all this to be seen. The only persons in waiting for him were an alcalde named Durango, with a posse of alguazils, and the bishop of Salamanca. If it had not been for the active exertions of the good prelate, it would have been difficult for the royal party to procure the means of subsistence.

Charles gave audible vent to his displeasure at this apparent neglect; his feelings were exhibited in a manner not to be mistaken in the letters addressed by his orders to Valladolid, where his daughter Joanna, the regent, was holding her court. This neglect of a father who had so recently given all that he had to Philip has brought much obloquy on his head. But it would seem to be undeserved. On the fourteenth of May he had written to his sister, the regent, informing her of the emperor's speedy return to Spain, and directing her to have everything in readiness for him on his landing. These commands he had repeated in a second letter, dated the twenty-sixth of August. He had been particular in his instructions, specifying the six chaplains and the money for the fleet, and enjoining on his sister to make such arrangements as were due to their father's rank and would best secure his personal comfort. These directions he had repeated yet again in a third letter, written September the eighth, shortly before Charles's em-

barkation. Philip, at his distance from the scene of action, could do no more.

Joanna, on receiving these instructions from her brother, gave orders at once to carry them into effect. But, with the procrastinating habits of the Spaniards, it was much easier to command than to execute. Yet some of the blame may be reasonably laid at the emperor's own door, who, had he come earlier, might possibly have found things in a better state of preparation. But he had postponed the period of his return so often that the minds of his subjects were unsettled by the delay; and when at last he did come, they were taken unawares.

When Joanna received the letter announcing her father's presence in the country, she at once caused thanks to be offered up in the churches for his safe arrival. At the same time she despatched a messenger to the emperor's major-domo, Don Luis Quixada, then residing on his estate in the neighborhood of Valladolid, ordering him to proceed with all expedition to the coast and make the necessary arrangements for his master's journey to the capital. He was especially to ascertain in what manner her father wished to be received at court,—whether with the honors due to his rank, or simply as a private citizen. As this personage is to occupy a prominent place in the remainder of our narrative, it will be well to acquaint the reader with some particulars of his history.

Luis Mendez Quixada belonged to an ancient and honorable family; but, as he was a younger son, the family name was the best part of his

inheritance. His first introduction at court was as a page in the imperial household. He afterwards entered the army, received a commission as captain of infantry, and in time rose to the rank of colonel. He followed the emperor to the wars, and distinguished himself on various occasions by his gallantry. He was a strict martinet, and was remarked for the perfect discipline which he maintained among the men under his command. The emperor, with whose acute perception of character the reader has become acquainted, did full justice to the excellent qualities, and especially the trustworthiness and loyal devotion, of Quixada. He was appointed one of the three major-domos who formed part of the imperial household. In his new capacity he was brought into frequent intercourse with his master, who soon bestowed on him more of his confidence than he gave to any other man. At least this is true in one remarkable instance. Charles intrusted to his care his illegitimate son, Don John of Austria,* the famous hero

* [The story of the life of Don John of Austria, until the conquest of Tunis in 1573, is told by Prescott in his "History of the Reign of Philip the Second." Like the story of Philip himself, the account was terminated by the death of its author. In 1568 he led a successful expedition against the African pirates. Two years later he had subdued the rebellion of the Moors in Granada, displaying great valor as a soldier, unusual skill as a general, and much ability as an administrator. On October 7, 1571, he won the victory of Lepanto, one of the great naval battles of the world. In 1573 came the conquest of Tunis. Philip's treatment of the brilliant and ambitious brother whom he knew to be planning to establish a kingdom for himself was most creditable to that despotic and suspicious monarch. If the Spanish king had been the man of ice some historians represent him to have been he would have put Don John out of the way, after Tunis, for instance, for disobedience of orders. But he loved him sincerely, and like the rest of mankind was fascinated by his glitter-

of Lepanto, when a child of three years of age, at the same time confiding to Quixada the secret of his birth. The major-domo was married to Doña Magdalena de Ulloa, a lady of illustrious lineage, which she graced by virtues so rare as to be commemorated in a special biography, that has expanded into a respectable quarto under the hands of one of her countrymen. Doña Magdalena took the boy to her home and her heart, supposing him

ing personality. Moreover, Philip recognized the fact that John was thoroughly loyal to his king. After Lepanto, John had dreamed of a Grecian kingdom, and had told his brother of his vision. The Albanians and the Moreans had asked him first to free them from the yoke of the Turks and then to take his seat upon their throne. The people of Rhodes had made the same request. Philip would not countenance such schemes, nor would he sanction the erection of an independent kingdom at Tunis. Pope Gregory XIII. was not so cautious. He planned that the young knight-errant should rescue Mary of Scotland from her captivity in England, marry the grateful queen, and then having deposed the heretic Elizabeth from her English throne should reign over the united realms. The pope promoted this scheme with all the aids at his command. To John was left only the task of subjugating England. But as Philip had failed most signally in his attempts to dominate that country, even though he was aided by a devoted wife who was queen of that land, he was naturally somewhat sceptical as to the feasibility of the papal plan.

In 1576 Don John was appointed to the government of the Netherlands, an office which at first seemed especially suited to his genius. The magic of his name and his unquestioned devotion were to recover for his brother the power his immediate predecessors had lost. He was, besides, always to be planning for the descent upon England which Philip had in mind. But the hoped-for success in the Netherlands did not materialize. The conqueror of the Turks was not able to effect much with the stolid Dutchmen. His policy was erratic and many-sided—inevitably so because of the parsimony and suspicion of Philip. The pacification of the Low Countries was a much harder task than the victory of Lepanto, and one not so well adapted to John's abilities. His early death at thirty-three was fortunate for his fame. His character shines the more brightly because it is always contrasted with that of his, apparently, passionless brother.—M.]

the fruit of some early amour of her lord's, previous to his marriage. Quixada did not think proper to undeceive the kind-hearted lady, and faithfully kept the perilous secret, which he may have thought was the emperor's secret rather than his own. Under her maternal care the young hero, who always regarded his foster-mother with grateful affection, was carefully trained in those accomplishments which fitted him for the brilliant career on which he was afterwards to enter.

Quixada was a fine specimen of the old Spanish hidalgo. Proud, punctilious, precise in his notions, he was as nice in the point of honor as any paladin of romance. He was most orthodox in his creed; but, though a true son of the Church, he had no respect for monks, as he showed rather plainly during his residence at Yuste. His nature was frank and honest; and, as he seems to have been somewhat querulous in his temper, he delivered his mind occasionally with a freedom that had in it something less of courtesy than candor. For the emperor he had the greatest reverence. This did not, however, prevent him from addressing his master at times with a degree of plainness to which the royal ear was but little accustomed. Charles had the good sense not to be displeased with this frankness, for he well knew the sincerity and the strength of Quixada's attachment. He had been, moreover, too long on the throne not to know that truth was the jewel of greatest price and the one most rarely to be found in the palaces of princes. Once, writing to his son concerning his preceptor, Zuñiga, the emperor

remarked, " If he deals plainly with you, it is for the love he bears you. If he were to flatter you, he would be like all the rest of the world, and you would have no one near to tell you the truth; and a worse thing cannot happen to any one, old or young." When Charles had made up his mind to return to Spain, he settled on Quixada as the most suitable person to make the arrangements for his journey through the country and afterwards to take charge of his establishment at Yuste. The result justified his choice.

On receiving the regent's letter, the major-domo at once threw himself into his saddle and posted with all expedition to the coast. Notwithstanding the bad condition of the roads, he performed the journey of fifty-five leagues in something less than three days, making arrangements, as he went along, for the emperor's reception.

Quixada's arrival at Laredo was greeted with joy by the whole party, and by none more than Charles, who seemed to feel that in the presence of his major-domo all difficulties would speedily vanish. No time, indeed, was lost; for on the day following, the sixth of October, the emperor and his suite were on the way to Valladolid. As the road frequently passed across rough and hilly tracts of uncultivated country, the emperor travelled in a horse-litter, and over the more difficult passages was borne by his attendants in a chair. Quixada rode by his side; and the rest of his train followed on horseback. A long file of mules, with the baggage, brought up the rear. The van was led by the alcalde, Durango, and his posse of alguazils,

giving to the whole procession, as Quixada thought, much the appearance of a gang of prisoners under the convoy of officers of justice. The two queens, with their retinues, followed at the distance of a day's march in the rear, to obviate the annoyance that might arise from the want of accommodations for so large a party. For the greater convenience of Charles, who could ill endure the fatigue of so long a journey, he proceeded by short stages, seldom exceeding four or five leagues in a day.

As the cavalcade advanced into the country, and the tidings spread abroad of the emperor's return, great numbers assembled on the route to take their last look at their sovereign. At all the principal places where he halted, he was met by the great lords of the neighborhood, and by deputations from the councils and from the authorities of the cities. As he drew near to Burgos, the great constable of Castile, attended by a gallant retinue of followers, came out to meet him. He would fain have persuaded the emperor to allow arrangements to be made by the inhabitants for giving him a solemn reception; but this he positively declined. The evening had set in before Charles entered the ancient city of the Cid. He was not allowed to do this with the privacy he had desired; and, as he passed through its illuminated streets, the bells of the churches sent forth a merry peal to give him welcome. He was conducted by the constable to his own mansion, the hereditary halls of the Velascos. While there, the admiral of Castile, the duke of Infantado, and the principal grandees who re-

sided in that quarter, with others, like the duke of Medina Sidonia and the duke of Medina Celi, whose estates lay chiefly in the south, came to pay their obeisance to their ancient master. Deputations arrived from the chancery of Valladolid, and from the different cities, bearing loyal addresses from their municipalities. After enjoying for two days the hospitalities of the constable, Charles again set forward on his journey. He was attended for some distance by his host; and Don Francès de Beamonde, at the head of a strong escort, accompanied him the remainder of the way to Valladolid. This arrangement gave great satisfaction to Quixada, as it enabled him to dispense with the further attendance of the alcalde and his posse.

On the third evening after they had quitted Burgos, the travellers halted at Torquemada, a town pleasantly situated in the midst of a rich and cultivated country. Here the emperor was met by Don Pedro de la Gasca, bishop of Palencia. This eminent prelate had been intrusted by Charles with an extraordinary mission to the New World, when the rebellion by Gonzalvo Pizarro threatened Spain with the loss of Peru. Gasca, with signal ability and address, succeeded in quashing the insurrection, in defeating its leaders and bringing them to punishment, and, finally, in reclaiming the tottering allegiance of the inhabitants, thus securing to Castile the fairest of her colonies. In return for these services he had been raised by Charles to the see of Palencia.* On learning his sovereign's

* [Prescott's Conquest of Peru, book v. chaps. i.–iv.—M.]

approach, the good bishop sent a liberal supply of poultry, fruit, and wine for the refreshment of the royal party, and on the following morning came in person to pay his homage to the emperor.

At Cabezon, a place about two leagues from Valladolid, Charles had the satisfaction of meeting his grandson, the infant Don Carlos, that unfortunate prince, whose brief but disastrous career forms so melancholy a page in the chronicles of the time. The boy, who was then eleven years old, had been sent from Valladolid to meet his grandfather. One may well believe that it was with no little interest that Charles regarded his descendant, the heir to the monarchy. He had Carlos to sup with him at his own table; and, as the lad showed much curiosity in regard to military affairs, the emperor entertained him with an account of his campaigns. When he described his flight from Inspruck, Carlos exclaimed, "I never would have fled." His grandfather endeavored to convince him of the necessity of flight in order to avoid falling into the enemy's hands. But the boy only repeated, with more earnestness than before, "*I* never would have fled,"—greatly to the delight of the emperor, who saw in this the mettle of his own earlier days.

But the penetrating eye of Charles was not slow in discerning other traits in his grandson's character, which filled him with apprehension. "He seems very restless," said the emperor: "neither his behavior nor his temper pleases me. I know not what is to become of him." The young prince was much taken with a little portable stove, which

his grandfather carried with him, in default of fireplaces, to warm his apartment. Carlos would willingly have appropriated this article to himself; but the emperor gave him to understand that this could not be till he was dead. The care of the prince's education had been intrusted to his aunt, the regent. Charles, when he saw his daughter in Valladolid, plainly told her that "if she showed less indulgence to the child the nation would have more reason to thank her."

Along the route by which the emperor travelled, people had assembled in great numbers to see him pass. There were two roads from Cabezon by which the capital was to be approached. One was more retired than the other; and some of Charles's suite, knowing his aversion to crowds, would fain have persuaded him to take it. He determined to do so, when the honest Quixada represented "that it would not be right to hide himself from his loyal subjects, who wished to look on him for the last time." The major-domo prevailed; but Charles would by no means consent that preparations should be made for giving him a public reception in Valladolid. This might be done, he said, for his two sisters, who accordingly made their entrance in great state into the capital, escorted by a brave procession of nobles and cavaliers, headed by the authorities of the city.

Valladolid was at this time, as indeed it had been for many years, the residence of the court. In this pre-eminence it had succeeded Toledo, the ancient capital of the Visigoths. It was not till the reign of Philip the Second that it lost this distinc-

tion, and the seat of government was transferred to Madrid, which thenceforth became the permanent capital of the monarchy. Valladolid was at this time, therefore, in the zenith of its glory, embellished with stately public buildings, and filled with the palaces of the great nobles, who naturally sought a residence in the neighborhood of the court.

Charles was received in the most loving and dutiful manner by his daughter, who conducted him to the mansion of Ruy Gomez de Silva, Philip's favorite minister. This the emperor preferred to taking up his quarters in the royal palace, which was consequently assigned to his sisters. He spent some time in the fair city, enjoying the society of his daughter, and recruiting his strength after the fatigues of his journey. During his stay, his house was thronged with visitors, among whom we find some of the principal grandees, and such of the prelates as were at the court. These attentions were the more grateful to Charles since, now that he had resigned the sceptre, they carried with them the appearance of being rendered to the man rather than to the monarch. The members of the council, the corregidor, and the municipality obtained an audience of their ancient master, and were permitted to kiss his hand. To all he showed that gracious deportment which he knew so well how to assume, and which contrasted strongly with the impassive reserve—the *sosiego*, as the Spaniards term it—which had so chilling an effect on those who were admitted to the presence of his son. The ladies of the court, who came to take leave of

him, were received by Charles with the same distinguished courtesy. It was on one of these occasions that Pedro de Sant Erbas, one of that privileged class of fools, or rather wits, who in ancient times were the necessary appendage of a court, happening to pass across the saloon, Charles, in a merry vein, touched his cap to him. "You are welcome," said the jester: "do you raise your hat to me because you are no longer emperor?" "No, Pedro," replied Charles; "but because I have nothing but this poor courtesy to give you."

Among those who waited on the monarch were three of the brethren from Yuste, and at their head the general of the order. The good father acquainted him with the progress that had been made in the works at Yuste. He assured him, moreover, of the great satisfaction felt by the fraternity that his majesty should have condescended to choose their abode as the place of his retreat. With the assistance of these monks, Charles was enabled to select from the different convents of the order such individuals as were best qualified to conduct the service of the chapel, as well as those whose piety and learning fitted them to officiate as his preachers,—persons, in short, who might form what may be called the religious part of his establishment.

During his stay at Valladolid, the emperor attended to the despatch of some important affairs of a public nature. He had daily communication with his daughter, and gave her the benefit of his large experience in administering the government of the kingdom. It was evident that, if he was

willing to follow the example of Diocletian in withdrawing from the world, he had no mind, like that monarch, to divorce himself from the great interests of humanity.

After prolonging his stay for a fortnight in Valladolid, Charles prepared to resume his journey. On the fourth of November he consented, for the last time, to the ceremony of dining in public. On that same afternoon he took an affectionate leave of his daughter and his grandson, and of his two sisters, who were to accompany him no farther. He was attended by a large train of nobles and cavaliers to the gates of the city, where he courteously dismissed them, though many would gladly have followed him on his route. He accepted, however, the escort of a small body of mounted horsemen and forty halberdiers, who were to continue with him till he arrived at Yuste.

In quitting Valladolid, Charles seemed to turn his back forever on the pomps and glories of the world, and in the separation from his family to sever the last tie which bound him to life. He travelled in a litter, and by easy stages, as before. The second night he passed at the ancient town of Medina del Campo, famous as the spot which witnessed the last hours of the greatest and best of his ancestral line, Isabella the Catholic. He did not, however, occupy the royal residence, which probably had not been made more comfortable by age, but took up his quarters for the night with a wealthy banker, named Rodrigo de Dueñas. This person, whether to display his riches or to do honor to his illustrious guest, had the emperor's apart-

ment warmed by a brazier of solid gold, which, instead of the usual fuel, was fed with sticks of cinnamon. The perfume of the cinnamon was disagreeable to Charles, who, when he went away on the following morning, in order to rebuke the ostentation of his host, would not permit him to kiss his hand, and caused him, moreover, to be paid for the night's lodging, like any ordinary innkeeper. Yet Charles gave no such sign of displeasure at the similar compliment which he had once received from the Fuggers, the famous bankers of Germany. On his return from his memorable expedition against Tunis, for which they had advanced him considerable sums of money, Charles spent the night at their house at Augsburg; and his hosts filled the brazier in his chamber, in like manner, with cinnamon. But, to show their gratitude for the service the emperor had rendered Christendom in breaking up the nest of Barbary pirates, they threw Charles's receipts for the money they had lent him into the fire, which so far qualified the odor of the cinnamon that it gave no offence to the royal nostrils.

As the travellers penetrated farther into the interior, and left the great world behind them, Charles felt in anticipation all the luxury of the retirement to which he was hastening. "Heaven be praised!" he exclaimed, "after this no more visits of ceremony, no more receptions!" Their route lay in a southerly direction; but, as it wound round the base of the mountain-range that, in its course from east to west, traverses the central parts of the Peninsula, the keen air chilled the

emperor, who, from his delicate temperament, was extremely sensitive to cold. As the luxury of fireplaces was a thing unknown in these parts, he was obliged to keep himself warm by means of his portable stove.* Everywhere along the route the people gave all the proofs in their power of the most loyal devotion. They aided his progress by clearing away the obstacles in the road, which became worse and worse as it was farther removed from the great highways of the country. They knew Charles's tastes; and they searched the streams for trout, eels, and other fish, of which he was extremely fond, and with which his table was liberally supplied whenever he halted.

On the twelfth of November the emperor reached Tornavacas, a small place near the northern confines of Estremadura. It was separated by a bold sierra from the *Vera*, or Valley, of Plasencia, on the border of which stood the monastery which was the object of Charles's pilgrimage. The *Vera* was to be approached in two ways. One was by scaling the mountain-barrier that separated it from Tornavacas. This might be done in a few hours; but the road, if so it could be called, which was little more than a path affording means of communication for the peasantry of the neighborhood, was rugged and precipitous. A more easy way would lead the travellers along the winding Xerte to the city of Plasencia, from which the route lay across a smooth and level plain, that stretched nearly to the walls of Yuste. This, however, would add four days to the journey;

* [As do most of the people of those regions to-day.—M.]

and Charles, wearied with his long-protracted travel, determined, with characteristic energy, to brave the dangers of the mountain.

Early on the following morning he began the ascent, which was quite as formidable as it had been represented. Fortunately, he was assisted by the peasantry, who were familiar with the route. A band of these hardy rustics went before, armed with pikes, shovels, and other instruments, to clear away the rubbish in the path. The mountain-sides had been cut into deep gullies by the winter torrents, which had swept down large fragments of trees from the forests above, and occasionally laid bare a huge splinter of the rock, that seemed to defy all farther progress. The narrow path, winding round the edge of dizzy precipices, afforded a precarious foothold, where a single false step might be fatal to the traveller. It was a formidable adventure even for the unencumbered pedestrian, and was rendered the more difficult in the present instance by the helpless condition of the emperor. The peasants relieved the attendants of their royal burden, which might have proved too much for them. They succeeded one another in the task of bearing the litter; while the faithful Quixada, armed with his long pike, strode by its side and gave general directions for conducting the operations. In the worst parts of the road the emperor was obliged to be borne in his chair; and occasionally the sturdy rustics carried him in their arms.

At length, after some hours of excessive toil, the party reached the most elevated point of their

route; and, as they emerged from the dark defiles of the *Puerto Nuevo*,—since called "The Emperor's Pass,"—he exclaimed, "It is the last pass I shall go through in this world, save that of death."

The descent was comparatively easy; and Charles's eyes were soon gladdened by the sight of the beautiful *Vera* and its bright carpet of verdure, which had not yet begun to fade under the cold touch of autumn. An occasional hamlet, glistening in the distance, relieved the unbroken character of the expanse, terminated on the west by the stately city of Plasencia. Nearer by several leagues might be dimly descried the gray walls of Yuste, half hidden among the groves of chestnut which fringed the skirts of the sierra.

As Charles's dwelling was not yet fit for his reception, it was decided that he should remain for the present at Jarandilla, a village two leagues east of Yuste, where there was a castle belonging to the count of Oropesa, a nobleman who, as already mentioned, had large estates in the neighborhood. It was a lordly pile, the ruins of which are yet to be seen; while the emperor's temporary residence there is commemorated by a fountain in the garden which still bears his name.

Charles met with the most hospitable reception from its loyal master, who had prepared for his accommodation a spacious apartment, with a pleasant aspect towards the south, looking down upon a garden of citron- and orange-trees. The weather was fine; and, notwithstanding the fatigues of the day, the emperor, pleased with the

spot, was in excellent spirits. In the midst of this fine weather at Jarandilla, the Flemings could see, from the windows of the castle, dense masses of vapor rolling lazily along the sides of the mountain where Yuste was situated. Soon the cool nights of autumn began to make themselves felt. The emperor, accustomed to the use of fireplaces in Flanders, exchanged his apartment for one where he had caused a chimney to be made. Soon afterwards, the count of Oropesa, surrendering his castle entirely to the use of his royal guest, withdrew to another residence on a distant quarter of his estates.

As winter approached, the rainy season set in. The streets of Jarandilla were saturated with water; and the poor major-domo with difficulty waded through the mire in the performance of his duties, which required him to provide for the accommodation of the imperial retinue. To add to his vexation, the village was but scantily provided with the means of supporting so large and unexpected an addition to its usual population. The querulous tone of Quixada's letters shows the perplexities of his situation. Yet it was impossible for Charles to abridge the number of his retinue until he was supplied with the means of paying their arrears by a remittance from Valladolid. The emperor's household cast many a rueful glance at the damp and desolate spot which he had selected for his abode, where the constant humidity of the atmosphere, they argued, boded no good to the infirmities of their master. Quixada did not hesitate to intimate as much to him. But the

emperor answered that, "in all parts of Spain where he had been, he had found that it was cold and rainy in the winter."

The major-domo and the secretary, Gaztelu, unbosomed themselves more freely in their correspondence with the secretary of state at Valladolid. They vented their discontent in the most doleful prognostics of the influence of such a climate on the emperor's constitution, speaking at the same time in no very flattering terms of the accommodations provided for him at the convent, and of the character of its inmates. They requested that their complaints might not reach the ears of the regent; but in some way or other the emperor's family became so far persuaded of their truth that his sister, the queen of Hungary, wrote to beg him not to take up his residence at Yuste. Charles, though somewhat annoyed by this interference with his plans, good-humoredly wrote in answer that "the lion was not so terrible as he was painted."

It is strange that those who knew him so well should have thought so easily to turn him from his purpose. Slow to an uncommon degree in deciding on his measures, when these had been once settled no power on earth was strong enough to make him change them. He was aware of this trait in his character, and once spoke of it to the Venetian Contarini. The courtly envoy observed, it was not obstinacy to adhere to sound opinions. "True," replied Charles; "but I sometimes adhere to those which are unsound."

Towards the latter part of November he availed himself of a day somewhat more propitious than usual to cross over to Yuste and examine the condition of the works with his own eyes. He professed to be well pleased with the appearance of the place and with the arrangements for his accommodation. He even gave directions to provide for more than double the number of persons he had originally designed to lodge there; and when Brother Roger, to whom the charge of making the arrangement was intrusted, ventured to suggest the impossibility of providing accommodations for so large a number, Charles silenced him by telling him "to do as he was bid, and not give his opinion in the matter." Charles's household came at length to comprehend that remonstrances, from whatever quarter, would have no effect to turn him from his purpose. "The emperor will never change his purpose," wrote the desponding secretary, "though heaven and earth should come together."

The rain now continued to fall without intermission, and with a degree of violence exceeding anything that the Spaniards had seen in other parts of the country. "As much water falls here in a single hour," wrote Quixada, "as in a whole day in Valladolid; in Yuste, they tell me, it is still worse." The secretary's report is not better. "The fogs," he writes, "are so thick that one cannot distinguish a man twenty paces distant." The emperor, who during the fine weather had strolled out for exercise and occasionally amused himself with his fowling-piece, was now imprisoned in his

apartment, and could only keep himself warm by sitting in the chimney-corner, rolled up in his robe of eider-down, which had been sent to him by his daughter Joanna. Here he would sit, and listen greedily to the despatches which came from Brussels or Valladolid.

Spain was at that time engaged in a war with Paul the Fourth, a pontiff who, emulating the belligerent spirit of Julius the Second, converted his crosier into a sword and vowed to drive the barbarians out of Italy. Charles listened with the deepest interest to the accounts furnished him from time to time of the war, and of the victorious career of the duke of Alva. When Gaztelu had finished reading, he would ask, "Is there nothing more?" But when he heard of the truce made by the Spanish commander at the very time when the fate of Rome seemed to hang upon his sword, Charles's indignation knew no bounds. He would not so much as listen to the terms of the treaty, as his secretary tells us. "It was only giving time to the French," he said, "to unite their forces with those of the pope;" muttering other things between his teeth, not easy to be understood. He delivered his mind freely on the subject, in his letters both to Philip and Joanna. When the French war soon after broke out, he wrote in the most pressing manner to his daughter, urging the necessity of placing the frontiers, especially Navarre, in the best state of defence. He admonished her to strengthen the fleet on the coasts, to pay off the debt due to the German bankers, that the credit of the country, so important at such a

crisis, might be maintained, and to provide for the security of the African possessions,—for that of Oran in particular, which, with a prophetic eye, he pointed out as a probable place of attack; "and were this to be lost," he added, "I should desire not to be in Spain, nor the Indies, nor anywhere on earth where tidings of an event so disastrous to the king and to the monarchy could ever reach me."

It was clear that Charles, if he had withdrawn from the world, was not weaned from a lively interest in whatever touched the welfare of the country. On this and other occasions he was ready to fortify the inexperience of his successor by those lessons of practical wisdom which had gained for him the reputation of being the shrewdest prince in Christendom. Philip often invited the emperor's interference in his concerns; and, to do him justice, he seems to have shown the same deference to the opinions and wishes of his father in retirement that he had shown to him in the fulness of his power, when his wishes were commands.

The tedium of Charles's confinement to the house was occasionally relieved by the visits which he consented to receive from some of the nobles resident in the neighborhood, who were desirous to pay their respects to him. The count of Oropesa, and his brother, who had been viceroy of Peru, were constant in their attentions. He found particular pleasure in a visit from Don Luis de Avila y Zuñiga, grand commander of the order of Alcantara. This remarkable man, after a long and

successful career in public life, had come to pass the evening of his days at his princely residence in Plasencia. In his youth he had accompanied the emperor to the wars, and had fought by his side at Tunis and in the German campaigns, where he had achieved a high military reputation. He had subsequently served his master in a diplomatic capacity, and been intrusted by him with the conduct of some important negotiations. Finally, ambitious of gracing the trophies he had won both as a soldier and a statesman with the laurels of authorship, he wrote a history of the campaigns against the Protestants in Germany, in which he had himself performed so distinguished a part. The work was so successful that it passed through several editions in his lifetime, and was translated into various European languages. Charles showed the greatest kindness to his old companion in arms, whose presence may well have recalled to the emperor the proud days of his military renown, when victory was sure to wait upon his banner. And we may imagine that the conversation of the old campaigners must have turned much more on the stirring scenes of early life than on the sober, contemplative themes better suited to the character of the recluse.

Such themes formed a fitter topic for discussion with another of Charles's visitors, whom in younger days he had honored with his friendship. This was the celebrated Francisco de Borja, formerly duke of Gandia, now a humble member of the Society of Jesus. Born in the highest rank of the Spanish aristocracy, he had early shown himself

to be possessed of those refined and elegant accomplishments which in a rough age are less frequently to be found than the talents of the soldier or the statesman. But these talents also he possessed in an eminent degree. Charles, quick to discern merit in the meanest of his subjects, was not likely to be blind to it in one whose birth placed him in so conspicuous a position; and he testified his confidence in Borja by raising him to offices of the highest trust and consideration. But, although the latter fully justified his sovereign's favor by the ability with which he filled these offices, his heart was not in his business. An intense devotional feeling had taken possession of his soul. He became weary of the world and its vanities, and he proposed to abjure them, and to dedicate the remainder of his life to the great work of his salvation. With his master's consent, at the age of thirty-seven he resigned his ducal title and his large possessions to his eldest son, and entered the Society of Jesus, which, then in its infancy, had given slender augury of the magnificent fortunes that awaited it. Here the austerity of his life, the generous sacrifice he had made of worldly honors, and the indefatigable zeal which he displayed in carrying out the objects of the institution, gained him a reputation for sanctity that fell little short of that of Ignatius Loyola himself, the founder of the Jesuits. In time he became general of the order, being the third who filled that post; and there was probably no one of its members who did more to establish the reputation of the society, or to open the way to that pre-eminence which it

afterwards enjoyed among the religious communities of Christendom.*

* [The Society of Jesus was founded by Ignatius Loyola. It began with seven members in 1534 and was recognized by Pope Paul III. in 1540. The chief aim of its founder was to arrest the progress of the Reformation, of which Martin Luther was the exponent. The society made its influence felt at the Council of Trent (1545–1563) though it had then only begun to try its strength. Henceforward its increase in power was marvellous. Its discipline was rigid in the extreme, its administration wonderfully well ordered. It grew by "Preaching, Teaching, and Confessing." No Jesuit was allowed to preach until his ability as a speaker had been carefully tested. The teachers did their work so well that it may almost be said that the order checked the reform movement in Germany. The polished "Companions" who acted as confessors in royal courts well nigh controlled the consciences of the princes who held to the old faith.

Wearing no distinctive garb, in an age when monks and friars pervaded Europe, the members of the society did not, in civilized lands, encounter the antagonism which the conventual robe everywhere aroused.

The society has always been a wonderful missionary force,—especially in the new world which Columbus gave to Castile and Leon. Almost from its foundation its members made their way to the most distant heathen lands. St. Francis Xavier landed at Goa in India in 1542; seven years later he had established a flourishing mission in Japan. Before the "Pilgrim Fathers" landed at Plymouth his successors had penetrated into China. Wherever the Spanish banners waived, in Mexico, in Peru, and in Chili, they were at work before the close of the sixteenth century. The first mission to the American continent was sent to Portuguese Brazil by St. Ignatius himself in 1549. The "Reductions" of Paraguay were founded early in the seventeenth century.

The work of the society among the Indians is beyond praise. "With no arms save those of virtue," says Buffon, "they civilized those nations, and founded an empire." The achievements of the Jesuits in those parts of North America not under Spanish control have found a most fascinating chronicler in one of the greatest American historians, Francis Parkman. The members of the Company began their work in Canada about the time the "Mayflower" landed her passengers on the shores of Massachusetts.

Religious enthusiasm colonized New England. Religious enthusiasm, says Bancroft, took possession of the wilderness on the upper lakes and explored the Mississippi. "In Canada not a cape was turned, nor a mission founded, nor a river entered, nor a

Borja was at this time in the neighborhood of Plasencia, where he was employed in superintending the establishment of a college for his order. On learning from the count of Oropesa that the emperor would be glad to see him, he instantly repaired to Jarandilla. When Father Francis "the Sinner"—for that was the humble name he had assumed—presented himself before Charles, he showed that his present way of life had not effaced from his memory the courtly observances of earlier days. He knelt down before the emperor, and in that attitude would have addressed him; but the monarch, raising Borja up, would not listen to him till he was both seated and covered. As the interview was private, we have no authentic account of the conversation that followed. It is said to have related chiefly to the character and circumstances of the new society which Borja had entered. The selection had not met with his master's approbation. Charles had seen the humble beginnings of an order in which his eye did not detect the seeds of future greatness. With the conservative feelings natural to a

settlement begun, but a Jesuit led the way." It was Jesuit missionary zeal that vitalized French dominion in America.

But the influence and wealth of the society, its interference in ecclesiastical and secular politics, the indiscretions of some of its members, the stern rigor of its administration, at last raised against it countless foes in many lands. In 1773 the society was suppressed by Pope Clement XIV., "On the ground of the numerous complaints and accusations of which the society was the object, without declaring on their guilt or innocence." Pius VII. restored its privileges in 1814; but in many states in Europe and South America its members are even now not allowed to teach or to preach publicly. In the more enlightened states, as in the United States of America, no restrictions whatsoever are placed upon them.—M.]

monarch and an old man, he was no friend to innovation.

The institution of the Jesuits had taken place at a time when the Church of Rome was trembling under the batteries of Luther. Its avowed purpose was to uphold the sinking fortunes of the papacy. But Charles, bigot as he was at heart, did not look at the new order with a more favorable eye that it came forward as the spiritual militia of the pope. More than once he had been at feud with the court of Rome; and Spain was at this very moment engaged in a war with the Vatican. He would willingly have persuaded Borja to leave the Jesuits and attach himself to the Jeronymites, among whom he was to establish his own residence.

His visitor went into a full discussion of the matter. He stated to the emperor the grounds of his preference, and explained at great length the principles on which the society had been organized, and the great objects it proposed. In the end, if he did not convert his auditor to his own way of thinking, which was hardly to be expected, he seems to have so far reconciled him to the course which he had adopted for himself that Charles desisted from any further attempt to make him change it.

Borja remained three days at Jarandilla, passing most of his time in the emperor's apartment. When he took his leave, the unusual compliment was paid him of being invited to repeat his visit after the emperor had removed to Yuste. We may readily conceive that the monarch must have taken much comfort in the society of one whose

situation in many respects bore a strong resemblance to his own. For, like his master, Borja had resigned fortune, fame, exalted rank, all that men most covet, that he might dedicate the remainder of his days to Heaven. He had not, however, waited, like Charles, till disease and disaster had weaned him from the world, but had carried his plans into execution in the freshness of life, in the hour of ambition, when the race of glory yet remained to be run.

It was not altogether in the refined and intellectual pleasures of reading and social intercourse that Charles passed the time of his confinement. He had brought with him into retirement the same relish for the pleasures of the table which he had indulged through life. His appetite was excessive, rivalling that of Louis the Fourteenth, or Frederic the Great, or any other royal *gourmand* whose feats are recorded in history. The pertinacity with which he gratified it under all circumstances amounts to a trait of character. A Venetian envoy at his court, in the latter part of Charles's reign, tells us that, before rising in the morning, potted capon was usually served to him, prepared with sugar, milk, and spices; after which he would turn to sleep again. At noon he dined on a variety of dishes. Soon after vespers he took another meal, and later in the evening supped heartily on anchovies, or some other gross and savory food, of which he was particularly fond. The invention of his cooks was sorely puzzled how to devise rich and high-seasoned dishes to suit his palate; and his *maître-de'hotel*, much perplexed,

told his discontented master one day, knowing his passion for timepieces, that "he really did not know what he could do, unless it were to serve up his majesty a fricassee of watches." The reply had the effect of provoking a hearty laugh from the emperor,—a circumstance of rare occurrence in the latter days of his reign.

To wash down this extraordinary quantity of food, Charles drank in proportion. Iced beer was a favorite beverage with him, administered often the first thing on rising in the morning. When stronger potations were required, he had no objection to Rhenish wine. Roger Ascham, when in Germany, saw the emperor on St. Andrew's day, sitting at dinner at the feast of the Golden Fleece. "He drank the best," says Ascham, "that I ever saw. He had his head in the glass five times as long as any of us, and never drank less than a good quart at once of Rhenish." It was in vain that his physician remonstrated, and that his confessor, Cardinal Loaysa, with an independence which did him credit, admonished him to desist from the pernicious practice of eating and drinking to excess, reminding him that his Creator had not sent him into the world to indulge in sensual delights, but by his diligent labors to save the Christian commonwealth. Charles gave as little heed to the warnings of the divine as to those of the doctor. Unfortunately, his position enabled him too easily to obtain a dispensation from those fasts of the Church which might otherwise have stood him in good stead. In the end came the usual heavy reckoning for such indulgence. He

was tormented with indigestion, bile, gout, and various other maladies that flesh—especially when high-fed and over-fed—is heir to. The gout was the most formidable of his foes. Its attacks were incessant. The man who had followed the chase without fatigue among the roughest passes of the Alpujarras, who had kept the saddle day and night in his campaigns, and had been esteemed one of the best jousters in Europe, was obliged at length, whenever he travelled, to be borne in a litter, like a poor cripple. Care and excessive toil had combined with his intemperate way of life to break down a constitution naturally robust; and, before he had reached the age of fifty, Charles was already an old man.

The same mischievous propensities accompanied him to his monastic retreat. In the almost daily correspondence between Quixada, or Gaztelu, and the secretary of state at Valladolid, there is scarcely a letter that does not turn more or less on the emperor's eating or his illness. The one seems naturally to follow, like a running commentary, on the other. It is rare that such topics have formed the burden of communications with the department of state. It must have been no easy matter for the secretary to preserve his gravity in the perusal of despatches in which politics and gastronomy were so strangely mixed together. The courier from Valladolid to Lisbon was ordered to make a détour so as to take Jarandilla in his route and bring supplies for the royal table. On Thursdays he was to bring fish to serve for the *jour maigre* that was to follow. The

trout in the neighborhood Charles thought too small; so others, of a larger size, were to be sent from Valladolid. Fish of every kind was to his taste, as, indeed, was anything that in its nature or habits at all approached to fish. Eels, frogs, oysters, occupied an important place in the royal bill of fare. Potted fish, especially anchovies, found great favor with him; and he regretted that he had not brought a better supply of these from the Low Countries. On an eel-pasty he particularly doted. Good supplies of these savory abominations were furnished from time to time from the capital by his daughter, who thus made amends for the remissness which, according to Gaztelu, she had shown in supplying the emperor's table on his journey through the country. Soles, lampreys, flounders, came in great quantities from Seville and Portugal. The country round Jarandilla furnished the *pièces de résistance*, in the form of pork and mutton, for the emperor's table. Game also was to be had in abundance. He had a lively recollection, however, of some partridges from a place belonging to the count of Ossorno, formerly sent to him in Flanders. The majordomo ordered some to be procured from the same quarter now. But Charles remarked "they did not taste now as they had formerly tasted." The olives of Estremadura were too large and coarse for his liking. Repeated directions were given to procure a supply from Perejon, the trader who had furnished some of a smaller and more delicate kind, and to obtain from him, if possible, the receipt for pickling them. One might have thought

that the land of pork, in which, as we have seen, Charles was living, would be that of sausages; but he had not forgotten those which his mother, "now in glory," was in the habit of having made for herself in Tordesillas. There the secretary of state was directed to apply for some. In case he failed in that quarter, he could easily obtain a receipt for making them from the kitchen of the marquis of Denia. Unfortunately, as the majordomo laments, the sausages did not reach Jarandilla till Thursday night; and, as they could not by any construction come into the category of fish, the emperor was obliged to defer his addresses to them for four-and-twenty hours at least; possibly much longer, as the next letter records a sharp attack of gout.

The nobles in the vicinity, who knew Charles's weak side, sent him constantly presents of game and vegetables. The churchmen were equally attentive. The prior of Our Lady of Guadalupe, the archbishop of Saragossa, the bishop of Plasencia, and the archbishop of Toledo, were liberal in their contributions; the last prelate sending a caravan of mules laden with provisions for the supply of the emperor and his suite. The duchesses of Bejar and Frias, who lived in that quarter, testified their devotion to their ancient lord by presents of sweetmeats, confectionery, or some little ornament or article of dress. Among the presents received from the latter lady were some delicate gloves, then a greater rarity than now. Charles, casting a glance at his gouty fingers, remarked that "the duchess should have sent him

hands to wear them." Quixada, who had complained of the scantiness of supplies on his first arrival at Jarandilla, as they now poured in so abundantly, drew the most doleful auguries of the effects on his master, who in his present state of inactivity might be thought hardly capable of meeting even the ordinary drafts on his constitution. But remonstrance, as the major-domo plaintively wrote to Valladolid, was of no avail. The result justified his prognostics.

On the twenty-seventh of December Charles had a severe fit of gout, which, beginning with his right hand and arm, soon extended to the neck, then to the left arm and hand, and then to the knees, until, in fine, crippled in all his limbs, unable so much as to feed himself, the emperor took to his bed, where he lay several days in great torment. He resorted to his usual remedies,—his barley-water, his yelks of eggs, and his senna-wine. This last nostrum was made of a decoction of senna that had been steeped for some months in a light wine of excellent quality. Indeed, the process took a year for its completion. This beverage he considered as possessed of such singular virtue that he had ordered the receipt for it to be forwarded from Flanders to the secretary of state at Valladolid, under whose care the preparation was to be made. But it could not save him from other troubles; and, while the gout was still on him, he had an attack of fever and ague, attended by a sore throat that rendered him almost incapable of taking nourishment. This had one good effect, however; and Quixada comforted his mas-

ter by telling him that "the best way to cure the gout was to keep the mouth shut."

The emperor's physician was a young man; and his daughter, the regent, sent him her own, as older and more experienced, to advise with him. Another of the faculty was also added from Italy, a man of some repute for the treatment of the disorders to which Charles was subject. He undertook to relieve the emperor of his gout; but he did not find his patient so tractable as could be wished. The Italian's first, very reasonable injunction was that he should give up his iced beer. But the emperor plainly told him "he would do no such thing." The doctor then remonstrated against the climate of Yuste, as altogether too damp. Charles intimated that he could leave it when he liked, saying that "he had not yet taken the vows." Quixada seems to have had an indifferent opinion of the doctor's skill, and perhaps of that of the faculty in general; for he remarked that "the emperor, if he chose, could prescribe for himself better than any one else could." Happily, his master's condition compelled him to resort to that abstinence which was the only effectual remedy. Yet we can hardly accuse him of pushing this to an extreme, when we find him, on his waking at three in the morning, swallowing a basin of capon-broth.

The first attack of gout was followed by a second, in the month of January, 1557. It was said to have been immediately caused by Charles's vexation at the news above referred to from Italy. It was not so severe or of so long duration as the

preceding. As the symptoms grew more favorable and the gout gradually subsided, the spirits of the sick man rallied, and he regaled himself with an omelette of sardines, and some other savory messes, greatly to the dismay of the major-domo, who, in his report to the secretary of state, declares that "it was no fault of his; for any attempt to reason his master out of his passion for fish was but labor lost."

Charles had now prolonged his stay three months at Jarandilla. Meantime, the buildings at Yuste were so nearly completed as to be ready for his reception. The monks were impatient for his coming. "If the emperor should not go, after all, they would hang themselves," wrote the secretary Gaztelu. "Yet," he says, "for myself, I shall never believe that he will go till I have seen it."

The fact is, that Charles was detained at Jarandilla by the want of funds to pay off those of his household who were not to accompany him to Yuste. For this he had required from Valladolid thirty thousand ducats. Weeks elapsed without the remittance of a single ducat; and the royal exchequer was reduced so low that Quixada was obliged to advance a hundred reals from his own pocket to defray the expenses of the establishment. At length, twenty-six thousand ducats were sent. But Charles would not move till he had received the full amount. Yet no blame for this remissness seems to have been imputed to the regent. The emperor had learned from his own experience that it was not always easy for a king

of Spain, with the Indies at his command, to procure the necessary supplies for his own household.

At length the remittances came. Quixada was enabled to discharge all arrears. Arrangements were made for sending back such of the retinue as were not to accompany their master to Yuste; and the regent was requested to charter the vessels to convey them to Flanders.

Out of more than a hundred and fifty retainers who had followed Charles to Jarandilla, between fifty and sixty only were reserved for his establishment at Yuste. The selection was attended with some difficulty. Several of the principal Flemings whom their lord had retained in his service were not disposed to remain with him. They had no mind to give up their native land and their hopes of court preferment in order to bury themselves in a convent of monks in the wilds of Estremadura. They knew, moreover, the parsimonious temper of their master too well to count upon any remuneration that would compensate for the sacrifices they must make. "They bear little love to us," writes Quixada: "it goes to my heart to hear them talk of the long and faithful services they have rendered, and of the poor return they have received, or expect to receive, for them."

It fared not much better with those who were to remain with the emperor. It was Quixada's business to notify them of their salaries and of the provision which their master had made for them after his decease. "The same thing happened in

this case," writes the major-domo, "that usually happens. Some were more contented with what had been done for them than others. No one was altogether satisfied; and I least of all, that I should find myself in so disagreeable a business, and be obliged to tell things to one and another which they liked as little to hear as I to say." Charles, however, might derive some satisfaction from the reflection that, as mercenary motives were excluded, those who remained in his service must have done so for the love they bore him. Indeed, if not a generous, he was a kind master; and the courtesy of his manners, and his considerate regard for his dependents, were such as to inspire them with a strong feeling of loyal attachment, independently of the reverence in which they naturally held him. This was especially true of the Flemings, in whom the sentiment of loyalty was heightened by the circumstance that the emperor was their own countryman,—having been born in Ghent. When, therefore, they assembled round his door, preparatory to his departure, and listened for the last time to the kind accents that fell from his lips, there were few among them who were not melted to tears. In short,—to borrow the words of Mignet,—the regret of those who were to be forever separated from their master was only to be equalled by the sorrow of those who were to be buried with him in the Jeronymite convent.

On the third of February, at three in the afternoon, the emperor, followed by his retinue, took leave of the hospitable walls of the lord of Oro-

pesa. He was carried, as usual, in a horse-litter, his noble host and the trusty major-domo riding by his side. As he passed through the files of halberdiers drawn up before the castle, they threw their pikes on the ground, in token that their service was ended. The cavalcade proceeded across the valley, and more slowly climbed the slopes of the mountain, shaggy with woods, which the winter winds had long since stripped of their foliage. As they drew near to Yuste, the sound of the convent bells ringing merrily came through the woods. The brethren were assembled in the church, which was decorated in the gayest manner, as for a festival; and the gathering shadows of evening were dispelled by numerous tapers, with which the chapel was illuminated. As the emperor entered the outer gates, the whole body of the monks, forming a procession, with the prior bearing a crucifix at their head, came forward, chanting the Te Deum, to welcome their royal guest to his new abode. Charles, alighting from his litter, and accompanied by the count of Oropesa and by Quixada, was borne in a chair by his attendants to the foot of the high altar. Here he remained, absorbed in his devotions, till the service was concluded and the last tones of the organ had died away. He then courteously received the salutations of the brotherhood, who gathered round him, addressing a kind word to each of the monks as they came forward to kiss his hand. The prior, somewhat embarrassed by the august presence into which he was now brought, in a complimentary speech addressed Charles by the title

of "*paternidad*," which the good father hastily corrected as one of the brethren, in a whisper, suggested the propriety of "*magestad*."

This ceremony being concluded, the emperor had sufficient strength to go through the monastery, as well as every part of his own mansion, to examine the accommodations for his followers, and finally to be carried in his arm-chair to the little hermitage of Bethlehem, in the woods, at the distance of two bow-shots from the convent. He was in good spirits, professing himself pleased with all that he saw; and in this contented frame of mind he took possession of the simple residence in which he was to pass the brief remainder of his days. The monks, in their turn, were overjoyed at seeing that which they had hardly believed would ever come to pass. "Pray Heaven," writes the secretary, Gaztelu, "that his majesty may continue to endure the friars as patiently as he does now. This will be no easy matter. They are all an importunate race; and the more importunate in proportion to their ignorance, of which there is no lack among the brotherhood of Yuste."

BOOK II

Charles's Mansion at Yuste—Furniture and Works of Art—Van Male—Charles's Household and Expenditure—His Way of Life—His Confessor—His Mechanical Pursuits—His Observance of Religious Rites—His Contentment at Yuste

THE emperor's dwelling at Yuste, notwithstanding it had been contrived by one of the best architects in Spain, had little pretensions to the name of "palace," by which the monkish chroniclers, in their reverence for its occupant, are wont to distinguish it. It was a simple structure, of very moderate dimensions, and stood on the steep side of the mountain, with its back against the southern wall of the monastery. It consisted of only eight rooms, four on each floor, which were of a uniform size, being twenty-five feet long by twenty broad. They all opened into corridors, that crossed the building and terminated in two deep porticos, or galleries, that flanked it on the east and west. These led out upon terraces, for which the sloping land was eminently favorable, and which the emperor afterwards embellished with flowers, fountains, and fish-ponds, fed by the streams from the surrounding hills. From the western terrace a gently sloping path, suited to the monarch's feeble limbs, led to the garden, which spread out below the house. This was of considerable extent; and a high wall, which enclosed it, separated it from the domain of the monks. A small part of it was reserved for

raising the vegetables for the royal table. The remainder was laid out as a pleasure-ground, with parterres of flowers, and pleasant walks shaded with orange-, citron-, and mulberry-trees, that in this sheltered spot, screened from the rude winds of the north, grew as luxuriantly as in a more southern latitude. One of these alleys led to a light and tasteful summer-house, the ruins of which may be detected by the traveller among the rubbish that covers the ground at the present day. Another walk, bordered with cypresses, led to a gate which opened into the neighboring forest, where two cows were pastured that supplied milk for the emperor's dairy.

Charles took for his bed-chamber the northeastern room on the second floor, contiguous to the chapel, which, indeed, was the part of the monastery against which his mansion was erected. The apartment was so situated that a window, or glass door, opened from it directly into the chancel, giving him, while he lay in bed, a complete view of the high altar, and enabling him, when confined to his chamber, to take part in the service. In the opposite corner of the building was the cabinet where he passed the day in transacting business, which still followed him to Yuste, and in receiving envoys and visitors who came to pay their respects to him in his retirement.

The northern chambers must have been dark and dreary, with no light but what found its way under the deep porticos that protected the sides of the dwelling. But on the south the rooms lay open to the sun, and looked pleasantly down upon the

garden. Here the vines, clambering up the walls, hung their colored tassels around the casements, and the white blossoms of the orange-trees, as they were shaken by the breeze, filled the apartment with delicious odors. From the windows the eye of the monarch ranged over a magnificent prospect. Far above rose the bold peaks of the sierra, dark with its forests of chestnut and oak, while below, for many a league, was spread out the luxuriant savanna, like a sea of verdure, its gay colors contrasting with the savage character of the scenery that surrounded it. Charles, who had an eye for the beautiful in nature as well as in art, loved to gaze upon this landscape; and in the afternoon he would frequently take his seat in the western gallery, when warm with the rays of the declining sun, as it was sinking in glory behind the mountains.

Charles, as we have seen, was careful to guard himself against cold, always travelling with his stove, and causing chimneys to be built in houses where he prolonged his residence. We may be sure that he did not omit this practice in a place like Yuste, where the dampness of the atmosphere rendered fireplaces, although little in vogue among the natives, as important as in a colder region. He had chimneys constructed for every room in the house. Indeed, he seemed to possess the constitution of a salamander, and usually kept his apartment in a sort of furnace-heat, by no means agreeable to his household. With all this, and with the further appliances of furs and wrappings of eider-down, he would often complain, especially

when the gout was on him, that he was chilled to the bone.

The furniture and decorations of Charles's dwelling seem not to have been altogether in keeping with the plainness of the edifice. Yet Sandoval, the emperor's historian, assures us that "the apartments were so ill provided in respect to these, that they looked as if they had been sacked by an enemy, instead of being the residence of a great monarch; that the walls were hung with nothing better than black cloth, as if for mourning, and with this only in his bed-chamber; that he had but one arm-chair, or rather half a chair, so old and rickety that it would not have fetched four reals at auction; finally, that his wardrobe was on the same humble scale, consisting of a single black suit, and that of poor quality." The same account, with more or less variation, is echoed by Vera y Figueroa, Valparayso, Strada, and other writers of authority. That Charles had not much to boast of in the way of dress may well be believed; for during the latter years of his life he had been singularly indifferent to his apparel. "When he rode into the towns," says a contemporary, "amidst a brilliant escort of courtiers and cavaliers, the emperor's person was easy to be distinguished, among the crowd, by the plainness of his attire." In the latter part of his reign he dressed wholly in black. Roger Ascham, who was admitted to an audience by him in his privy chamber some five years before his abdication, says that the emperor "had on a gown of black taffety, and looked somewhat like the parson at Epurstone."

His natural parsimony came in aid of his taste. It is told of him that once, being overtaken by a storm in the neighborhood of Naumburg, he took off his new velvet cap, and remained uncovered while he sent into the town for an old one. "Poor emperor," thought one of the company, who tells the anecdote, "spending tons of gold on his wars, and standing bareheaded in the rain for the sake of his velvet bonnet!" The reflection is a natural one, but not more natural than the inconsistency which gave rise to it.

That Charles was not altogether unmindful of his wearing-apparel in Yuste may be inferred from the fact that his wardrobe contained no less than sixteen robes of silk and velvet, lined with ermine, or eider-down, or the soft hair of the Barbary goat. As to the furniture and upholstery of his apartments, how little reliance is to be placed on the reports so carelessly circulated about these, may be gathered from a single glance at the inventory of his effects, prepared by Quixada and Gaztelu soon after their master's death. Among the items we find carpets from Turkey and Alcaraz, canopies of velvet and other stuffs, hangings of fine black cloth, which, since his mother's death, he had always chosen for his own bedroom; while the remaining apartments were provided with no less than twenty-five suits of tapestry, from the looms of Flanders, richly embroidered with figures of animals and with landscapes. Instead of the crazy seat that is spoken of, we find, besides a number of sofas and chairs of carved walnut, half a dozen arm-chairs covered

with black velvet, and two others, of a more elaborate workmanship, for the emperor's especial use. One of these was garnished with six cushions and a footstool, for the accommodation of his tender joints, and the other well stuffed and provided with handles, by which, without annoyance to himself, he could be borne out upon the terrace, where in fine weather, he often preferred to take his repasts. The accommodations of his sleeping-apartment showed an equal attention to his personal comfort; for, besides two beds, of different dimensions, we find such an ample supply of bolsters, pillows, blankets, and bed-gear of all descriptions as would have rejoiced the heart of the most ambitious housekeeper.

With the article of plate he was no less generously provided, though we are assured by the authorities above quoted that he had but three or four pieces, and those of the plainest pattern. The service of his oratory was uncommonly ample, and was mostly of silver-gilt. His table-service was also of silver, as were the articles for his toilet, the vases, the pitchers, the basins, and even the humblest utensil in his bed-chamber. The vessels in his apothecary's room were of the same precious material, as well as most of the articles in the pantry and the kitchen. Among the different pieces of plate we find some of pure gold, and others especially noted for their curious workmanship; and, as this was an age in which the art of the precious metals was carried to the highest perfection, we cannot doubt that some of the finest specimens had come into the emperor's possession.

The whole amount of plate was estimated at between twelve and thirteen thousand ounces in weight.

The emperor's inventory makes no great display of jewels. Such trinkets, worthless in the monastery, he left to those who had still their showy parts to play on the theatre of the world. He brought with him, however, a number of richly-mounted caskets of gold, silver, and enamel, containing different articles which still had value in his eyes. Among these were several collars and badges of the Golden Fleece, the proud Burgundian order of which the Spanish sovereign was now the head. But most of these jewelled coffers were filled with relics or amulets. Among the former was a bit of the true cross. It afterwards passed as a precious legacy to Philip; as did also the contents of another casket, a crucifix which his mother, the empress Isabella, had in her hands in the hour of death, and which was afterwards to solace the last moments of her husband and her son. The other boxes were chiefly devoted to talismans, which the superstition of the times had invested with marvellous properties for warding off disease. There were stones set in gold, sure styptics for stopping blood; nine English rings, a specific against cramp; a blue stone, richly chased, for expelling the gout; four bezoar stones, in gold settings, of singular efficacy in curing the plague; and other charms of the same kind. It may surprise one that a person of so strong a mind as Charles the Fifth should have yielded so far to the popular superstition as to put faith in such

trumpery. That he did so is evident from the care with which he preserved these amulets, and from his sending one of them—a bezoar stone—to his chamberlain Van Male, when supposed to be ill of the plague. Yet this should not be set down so much to superstition as to the credulity which grew out of an ignorance of the real properties of matter,—an ignorance which the emperor shared with the best-instructed men of the age, who, in whatever related to physical science, were constantly betrayed into errors of which a school-boy in the present day would be ashamed.*

There was one decoration for his dwelling which the abdicated monarch brought with him to Yuste, of more worth than his plate or his jewels. This was a small but choice collection of pictures, some of which ranked as the noblest masterpieces of art. They were variously painted, on canvas, wood, and stone, mostly of the size of life, and hung in rich frames round the walls of his apartments. Some were in miniature, and among these were no less than three of the empress; while an elaborate altar-piece, displaying pictures of the Virgin and the Child, was ornamented with gold medallions that contained likenesses of the different members of the imperial family.

But the gems of the collection were eight paintings from the pencil of Titian. Charles was a true

* [Torquemada, the Inquisitor General who sent so many heretics to the stake, and who lived in constant dread of assassination, is said to have kept a reputed unicorn's horn upon his table because of its power of neutralizing poison.—M.]

lover of art, and, for a crowned head, no contemptible connoisseur. He fully appreciated the merits of the great Venetian, had him often near his person at the court, and at all times delighted to do homage to his genius. There is a story that on one occasion the monarch picked up a pencil which Titian had dropped while painting, and restored it to him, saying that "so great an artist should be served by an emperor." This is too like some well-attested anecdotes of Charles to be rejected as altogether improbable. However this may be, he showed his estimation of the artist by conferring on him the honor of knighthood, and by assigning him a yearly pension on the revenues of Naples, of two hundred gold crowns. He may be thought to have done some violence to his nature, moreover, by never paying him a less sum than eight hundred crowns for each of his portraits. There were several of himself at Yuste, from the hand of Titian; one a full-length, representing the emperor in complete mail. He was painted many times by the Venetian artist; for it was by his pencil that he desired his likeness should be transmitted to posterity. He had his wish. Some of these portraits are among the best productions of Italian art; and the emperor lives immortal on the canvas of Titian, no less than in the pages of history.

There are several pictures also of the empress by the same master; and others of Philip and the different members of the royal family. But the most remarkable in the collection, and one that Charles had caused to be painted a few years before,

that he might take it with him to his retreat, was the celebrated "Gloria," * in which he appears with the empress in the midst of the heavenly host, and supported by angels, in an attitude of solemn adoration. This superb picture, which, after the monarch's death, accompanied his remains to the Escorial, is reported by tradition to have been placed over the great altar in the church of Yuste. That this was the case is rendered probable by the size of the painting, which made it better suited to a church than a private apartment. In the space above the altar, Charles could, moreover, readily see it through the window of his chamber; and from his sick-bed his eyes might still rest on the features of the sainted being who had been dearest to him on earth.

There were other pictures by different artists, the principal of whom was "Master Michael," as he is termed, respecting whose identity historians are somewhat puzzled. The subjects of his pieces were chiefly of a religious character, and celebrated different passages in the life of Our Lord. The whole collection was one well suited to the condition of the monarch who had withdrawn from the tumult of the world to a life of holy meditation. While surrounded by the images of those who were associated in his memory with the most tender recollections, his religious sensibilities were kindled by the sight of those scenes which commemorated the sorrows and the sufferings of his Saviour.

Charles had brought but a meagre array of

*[The "Gloria" is now in the Museo del Prado at Madrid.—M.]

books to adorn his shelves at Yuste. He was never a great reader. His life had been too busy to allow the leisure for it. It was his misfortune in his youth not to have acquired a fondness for books,—that best source of enjoyment in prosperity, as it is the unfailing solace in the hour of trouble. The learned Adrian of Utrecht was, indeed, his preceptor. But Chièvres, the politic Flemish minister who had the direction of his affairs, considered letters as belonging to gownsmen, and that a prince could better bestow his time on manly and chivalrous exercises. Charles's whole library did not exceed thirty-one volumes. These were mostly of a religious character, as psalters, missals, breviaries, commentaries on the Scriptures, and the Meditations of St. Augustine. Of the Consolations of Boethius—a work once so popular—there were copies in three different languages. He had a few scientific works, among them the Almagesta of Ptolemy, which contained whatever was known, or rather not known, of astronomy in that day.

One might have expected that history, at least, would have found favor with the emperor. But he was too busy in furnishing materials for history to find time for reading it. He possessed a fragment of the unfinished manuscript of Florian de Ocampo's *Crónica de España;* a work in which the author, starting from the Deluge,—as usual with the Spanish chronicler in that day,—was interrupted by death before he had groped his way through the Dark Ages. A copy of Cæsar's Commentaries graced the shelves. But it was in an

Italian translation, as Charles had a very imperfect knowledge of Latin. He took more pleasure in the Commentaries of his friend the Grand Commander Avila, which celebrated the wars in Germany in which the emperor played the principal part.

But the work which had the greatest interest for the monarch was a French poem, "*Le Chevalier Délibéré*," which had great success in its day. It was chiefly devoted to celebrating the glories of the house of Burgundy, and especially that prince of fire-eaters, Charles the Bold. The emperor, pleased with the work, and the more so, no doubt, that it commemorated the achievements of his own ancestral line, had formerly amused his leisure hours by turning it into Spanish. He afterwards employed his chamberlain, William Van Male, to revise it and correct the style for him. Thus purified, it was handed over to a poet of the court, named Acuña, who forthwith did it into set Castilian verse.

Van Male, the chamberlain, who had thus performed the same office for his master which Voltaire used to intimate he had rendered to Frederic the Great, by saying he had washed out the king's dirty linen, was a person who held too important a place in the emperor's household to be passed over in silence. He was born in Flanders, of an ancient but decayed family. He early followed the wars, and took service under the duke of Alva. But the profession of arms was not suited to his quiet and studious tastes; and when peace came he quitted the army, with the design of entering the Church. The poor gentleman, however,

had no patron to push him forward in the path of preferment, and, satisfied of this, he gladly embraced an offer, which he obtained through the interest of Charles's minister, De Praedt, of the post of chamberlain in the imperial household.

In his new situation Van Male was necessarily brought into close relations with his master, to whom his various accomplishments enabled him to render other services than those strictly demanded by his office. When Charles's fingers were too much crippled by gout to hold the pen, the chamberlain acted as his secretary, and sometimes wrote his despatches. If the monarch, oppressed with care or tormented by bodily pain, was unable to compose himself to sleep, Van Male beguiled the time by reading aloud to him; and many a weary hour, and often far into the night, did the chamberlain stand by his master's bedside, engaged in his unenviable office. It was in such intervals as he could snatch, during this occupation, that he wrote those letters to his friend the minister De Praedt, which have recently been published, and which throw many gleams of light on the emperor's personal character and way of life. In their constant intercourse, Van Male's guileless character, his integrity, and his amiable disposition, won the regard of his master, who seems to have honored him with a greater degree of confidence than any other of his household, except Quixada. But for all that, and notwithstanding the important services he received from him, Charles did little for the advancement of the chamberlain's fortunes. When the latter announced that he was

about to marry, the emperor looked graciously on the plan, and favored him with some prudent counsels in regard to his housekeeping. The simple-hearted chamberlain overflowed with gratitude at this mark of condescension, which he does not fail to communicate in his letter to De Praedt. But these prudent counsels were all that Charles had to give him. At length the time came when the emperor could be generous to Van Male, and that without any cost to himself.

He determined to present him with the manuscript containing the Castilian version of the "*Chevalier Délibéré*," and to have a large edition of it struck off at once. This was to be done at the chamberlain's expense, who would be abundantly remunerated by the sale of the poem. "It will put five hundred gold crowns into his pocket," exclaimed a wicked wag, the historian Avila. "And William is well entitled to them," said the emperor, "for he has sweat hard over the work." But the subject of the royal bounty took a very different view of the matter. Nothing seemed certain to him but the cost,—especially as Charles positively declined to propitiate the public by making known the part which he had taken in the composition of the work. It was in vain that the poor chamberlain protested. His master would not be balked in his generous purpose, and in that same year, 1555, an edition of two thousand copies of the book appeared from the press of Jean Steeltz, in Antwerp.* Whether the result justified the

* [The "Cavallero Determinado" was more successful than Van Male supposed it would be. Partly from the interest the master

ominous presages of Van Male, we are not told. He was one of the Flemings who followed their master to Yuste. He survived him but two years; and, as there is no appearance that his affairs were in a very flourishing condition at the time of his own death, we have no reason to suppose that the manuscript of the "*Caballero Determinado*" proved a gold-mine to him. Charles had brought with him to Yuste two copies of the epic, which he probably regarded with more complacency than that with which they were viewed by Van Male. One was in the original French, the other in the Castilian version, and both were ornamented with colored drawings, and richly bound in crimson velvet, with clasps and corners of silver, like many of the other books in the collection.

The imperial household consisted of about fifty persons,—a number not greater than belonged to the family of many a private gentleman. But the titles of some of the officials intimated the state maintained in the establishment. There were the major-domo, the almoner, the physician, the apothecary, the secretary, four gentlemen of the chamber, the keeper of the wardrobe, and the like. There were also cooks, confectioners, fruiterers, bakers, brewers, gamekeepers, and a number of menials for the inferior offices. Charles, as we

of so many kingdoms must have felt in a work in which his secret share was considerable; partly from the ingenuity of the allegory, due to its French author, Olivier de la Marche; "partly to the fluency and grace of the versification, which were wholly Acuña's," it became very popular. Seven editions were published in the course of half a century. For a notice of Acuña and the "Cavallero," see Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature, vol. i. pp. 458–460.—M.]

have seen, had been disappointed in not being able to retain the services of some of the more distinguished Flemings in his monastic retreat. Their attachment to their master was not strong enough to make them renounce the world and bury themselves in the solitudes of Yuste. With the exception, therefore, of a few men of family and education, who filled the higher posts, the establishment was made up of illiterate persons, suited to the humblest station. Even one of the chamberlains, as we gather from the emperor's will, was unable either to read or write.

The emperor's family was variously distributed. Quixada, Gaztelu, Moron, keeper of the wardrobe, and some others of the principal attendants, were lodged in the neighboring village of Cuacos, half a league from the monastery,—a place as the secretary pathetically complains, "even worse than Yuste." Much the greater number found accommodations in a part of the new cloisters, to which the avenues from the rest of the monastery were carefully closed, while easy communications were opened with "the palace." Thus the emperor's establishment, in the words of Mignet, was complete in itself, supplying him not only with all that was required in the way of personal service, but with whatever was necessary for his use,—from the bread for his table to the various medicines for his maladies; from the wine and beer of his cellar to the wax lights for his oratory.

The salaries of the attendants varied according to the nature of their services. Quixada, as head of the establishment, was to receive the same

yearly stipend with that assigned with the Marquis of Denia, who had held the post of chamberlain in Queen Joanna's household. The amount is not stated. Gaztelu, the secretary, and Mathys, the physician, received each seven hundred and fifty florins a year. Moron had four hundred florins, as master of the wardrobe; Torriano, the mechanician, three hundred and fifty; Van Male, and the other chamberlains of the first class, three hundred each. The whole amount of the wages somewhat exceeded ten thousand florins.[1]

Charles had estimated his probable expenses at about sixteen thousand gold ducats a year. He found, however, that he should require twenty thousand; and he ordered the secretary Vazquez to remit to him that amount, in quarterly payments of five thousand each. Gaztelu urged the importance of punctuality in the remittances; for "the emperor," he said, "is the man of all others who requires to be served with punctuality; and the least want of it causes him the greatest annoyance." One might have thought that the lord of Spain and the Indies would have long been familiar with such sources of annoyance.

The abdicated monarch had reserved for himself the proceeds of certain taxes called *los seis y onze*

[1] The Flemish florin, according to Mignet (Charles-Quint, p. 227), contained an amount of silver equivalent to that of six francs ninety-seven centimes of the present day. But silver has greatly depreciated since the sixteenth century. Taking three as the multiple indicating the depreciation, the Flemish florin would be equal to nearly twenty-one francs of the present currency. There are so many embarrassments, however, in the way of forming a correct estimate of the relative value of money in different ages, that any conclusion at which we may arrive must be received with diffidence.

al millar, and a right in the mines of Guadalcanal.* These, which were of silver, and situated in the south, not far from Cordova, were of daily increasing value; though it was not till some years later, when leased to the Fuggers of Augsburg, that their productiveness was fully established. Besides these sources of revenue, Charles had laid aside for himself thirty thousand gold ducats, which he deposited in the fortress of Simancas. His daughter Joanna, more than once, when hard pushed for money for the public service, tried to persuade him to allow her to borrow from this hoard on the faith of the national credit. But her father, who knew from experience that government paper was by no means as good as gold, turned a deaf ear to the application, and kept his treasure untouched to the day of his death.

Charles's way of life at Yuste was of that regular kind to have been expected in one who lived in the atmosphere of a convent. He rose early, and immediately breakfasted. His stomach abhorred a vacuum, even for the shortest space of time. When the door was thrown open, his confessor, Father Juan de Regla, appeared. The history of this man affords one of the many

* [The silver mines of Guadalcanal were long ago abandoned. A peasant named Delgado discovered them when ploughing in 1509. They were leased to the Fugger brothers in 1598. The Fuggers also rented the quicksilver mines at Almaden and speedily became immensely wealthy. *Ser rico como un Fucar* meant to be enormously rich, in the days of Cervantes. Their descendants retained the mines until 1635. Forced at that time to give them up, they turned a stream of water into them. Many unsuccessful attempts have since been made to drain them; the last trial was made in 1768.—M.]

examples of the wise policy with which the Catholic Church opens a career to talent and desert wherever found, instead of making rank the only path to preferment. Regla was the son of a poor Aragonese peasant. While a lad, he went to Saragossa, where he lived for some time on charity, especially on the alms doled out at the convent gate of St. Engracia. He performed also some menial offices; and the money he thus picked up he spent on books. The brethren of the convent aided him by their spiritual teachings, and by their recommendation of him to a wealthy patron, who gave him the charge of his sons in the University of Salamanca. Regla seems to have fully shared in all the advantages for education afforded by this seat of science. He profited by them to the utmost, made himself well acquainted with the ancient tongues, especially Greek and Hebrew, and went still deeper into the canon law, as he had determined to devote himself to the Church. At the age of thirty-six he entered the order of St. Jerome, making his profession in the old, familiar convent of St. Engracia. He distinguished himself by the strictness with which he conformed to the discipline of the society. Though a subtle and dexterous casuist, he seems to have had no great success as a preacher. But he was the most popular confessor in Saragossa. His learning and exemplary way of life, recommended by plausible manners, gradually acquired for him much consideration with the brotherhood that he was raised to the office of prior in the very convent at whose gate he had once received charity.

The first term of his office had just expired, and he was about to be re-elected for another, when he received a summons to attend the emperor as his confessor at Yuste. However gratifying the appointment may have been to his feelings, he seems to have preferred to remain in the independent position which he held as head of the Jeronymite monastery. At least, he showed no alacrity in complying with the summons. When at length he presented himself before the emperor, the latter, who had been impatient of his delay, inquired the cause of it; to which the Jeronymite, with a downcast look, replied, "It was because he did not think himself worthy, or indeed qualified, to take charge of his majesty's conscience." Charles, who perhaps did not give the monk credit for as much humility as he professed, told him to take courage; "for," said he, "I have had five learned divines, who have been busy with my conscience for this year past in Flanders; and all with which you will have to concern yourself will be my life in Yuste."

The meek and austere deportment of the confessor soon established him in the good opinion of the monarch, who, in one instance, showed him a singular proof of consideration. He not only allowed, but commanded, Regla to be seated in his presence,—an act of condescension which greatly scandalized the loyal Quixada, who regarded it in the light of an indignity that a poor friar should thus be placed on a level with his august sovereign. Regla himself felt the awkwardness of his situation, for much the same etiquette was observed

towards Charles in his retirement as when on the imperial throne. The monk saw the odium to which his master's favor would expose him; and on his knees he besought the emperor to allow him to stand in his presence. "When any one enters the room, it makes me feel," said the poor man, "like a criminal on the scaffold, dressed in his *sanbenito*." "Be in no pain about that," said Charles to him: "you are my father confessor. I am glad that people should find you sitting when they come into the room; and it does not displease me," he coolly added, "that you should change countenance sometimes at being found so."

Notwithstanding this show of deference to his confessor, or to the cloth, Regla soon found that humility was not a cardinal virtue of his royal penitent, and that, if he had resigned the sceptre, he still retained a full measure of the imperious temper with which he had swayed it. On one occasion, the monk having gone on his own affairs to the neighboring town of Plasencia, Charles, as soon as he learned it, sent a courier to order him back. "I would have you know, brother Juan," said the emperor to him on his return, "that it is my pleasure you go not hence without my express permission. You are not to quit me for a single moment." Regla received the rebuke with patience, and from that hour never left the monastery so long as his master lived.

After the confessor had assisted Charles in his morning devotion, the later amused himself with some occupation,—often of a mechanical kind, for which he had a taste. His companion at these

times was Torriano, the mechanician whom we have mentioned as forming one of the household. He was a native of Cremona, in Italy, a man of singular ingenuity, who afterwards gained himself a name as an engineer by the construction of the celebrated hydraulic works of Toledo. He was well skilled in the manufacture of timepieces, and, as we have seen, made those elaborate clocks which adorned the apartments at Yuste. He was engaged, at this time, on an astronomical timepiece of a most complicated construction, which required more than three years for its completion. Charles is said to have observed the progress of this curious piece of mechanism with great interest. He had brought with him to Yuste a number of watches made by the same hand. Pocket-watches were a great rarity at that period, for their invention was of recent date, going back no farther than the beginning of the century.

Charles had a passion for timepieces, though one might have thought that he would have cared little for the precise measurement of the hours as they glided away in the monotonous routine of the monastery. The difficulty which he found in adjusting his clocks and watches is said to have drawn from the monarch a philosophical reflection on the absurdity of his having attempted to bring men to anything like uniformity of belief in matters of faith, when he could not make any two of his timepieces agree with each other. But that he never reached the degree of philosophy required for such a reflection, is abundantly shown by more than one sentiment that fell from his

pen, as well as his lips, during his residence at Yuste.

Charles had a turn for the mathematical sciences; and his inventory contains a number of geometrical and other instruments which he had brought with him to his retreat. In the catalogue we find, moreover, mention made of no less than thirty-six pairs of spectacles. He had a decided taste, and, as it would seem, talent, for mechanical pursuits, and when in Germany had invented a carriage for his own accommodation, in which he used to take his airings in the country. He would often amuse himself with Torriano, in making little puppets,—soldiers performing their exercises, girls dancing with their tambourines, and, if the account be true, wooden birds that could fly in and out at the window!—all which, in the eyes of the simple monks, savored of necromancy. But what satisfied them beyond a doubt that Torriano was an adept in the black art was his invention of a hand-mill small enough to be tucked away in the sleeve of a friar, but of sufficient power to grind enough meal in a day to feed a man for a week. It may have been some such piece of witchcraft that furnished an argument for his prosecution afterwards by the Holy Office.

At ten o'clock some of the emperor's *ayudas de cámara* or of his *barberos*—gentlemen of the chamber of the first and second class—came to assist him at his toilette. At noon he heard mass. When well enough he always attended the service in person, occupying his place in the choir. At other times he would sit at his chamber-window,

which, as we have seen, opened on the chancel, where the clear, sonorous tones of his voice might be heard mingling with those of the choristers below. He had a great fondness for music, and understood the principles of the art. When on the throne, the music of his chapel was unsurpassed by that of any church in Christendom. On his coming to Yuste, the greatest pains had been taken to select for him the best voices from the different convents of the order.* No person was admitted into the choir except those who regularly belonged to it. On one occasion a professional singer from Plasencia having joined in the chant, the unaccustomed tones soon drew the emperor's attention; and the intruder was compelled to beat a hasty retreat. Charles had a quick ear; and sometimes, when a false note jarred on it, he would break into a passion, and salute the offender with one of those scurrilous epithets which he had picked up in the wars, and which were much better suited to a military life than to a monastic.

Immediately after mass he dined,—an important meal, which occupied much time with him always, at the convent as well as at the court. At Yuste he still retained the unsocial privilege claimed by royalty of eating alone. He beguiled the time, however, by conversing with some one of his household who was present during the repast. Sometimes it was Mathys, the physician, a man of science, but who unfortunately did not possess the authority exercised by Sancho Panza's island-

* [Barbara Blomberg, the mother of Don John of Austria, owed her introduction to the emperor to her fine voice.—M.]

doctor, to order off the unwholesome dishes from the table. Sometimes it was the learned chamberlain, Van Male, who was present. Frequently both remained; and the emperor conversed with them on different topics, usually those relating to science,—to anything but politics. The subject often turned on natural history, of which Charles was fond, when Pliny would, of course, be cited as sovereign authority; and, if a passage chanced to puzzle the disputants, the confessor—a good scholar, as we have seen—would sometimes be sent for to settle the dispute.

After dinner, the monk read to his master some portion of St. Bernard or St. Jerome, pausing frequently while his auditor made a running commentary on the text; so that the exercise, as the narrator adds, partook rather of the nature of "a sweet and heavenly communion." At other times the conversation turned on lighter and more familiar topics. Then came a short *siesta;* after which the emperor repaired to the church, where three days in the week he listened to a discourse from one of his chaplains. There were three of these, men selected for their piety and learning from the different houses of the order. Among the number Fray Francisco de Villalva was especially endowed with a rare and touching eloquence, which made him one of the most popular preachers of the day; and, as his discourses found great favor with Charles, he was selected to deliver the sermon much oftener than either of his brethren. Occasionally assistance was not refused from other quarters; and if any member of the order belonging to some

other convent, who had a gift for preaching, happened to visit Yuste, he was invited to mount the pulpit and display his eloquence before the emperor. Whenever there was preaching, Charles made it a point to be present. If prevented by illness, or by the necessity of preparing despatches for Brussels or Valladolid, he expected to hear from his confessor, on the same evening, a full report of the discourse.

On the other afternoons of the week he listened to some portion of the Scriptures from Fray Bernardo de Salinas, a learned divine, who had received his degree of doctor from the University of Paris. The part most frequently selected for this exercise was the Epistle to the Romans, which the emperor preferred, says a monkish historian, as containing the sum and substance of all the other epistles and comprehending within itself all the sound doctrines and dogmas of the Church. The remainder of the day he was occupied with such affairs as claimed his attention. After vespers, and before retiring to rest, he refreshed himself with a supper, in which fish, dressed in some rich and unwholesome way, was pretty sure to make part of the repast.

A religious sentiment, which unhappily was deeply tinctured with bigotry, lay at the basis of Charles's character, as was shown in the busiest parts of his life, no less than in his retirement. He had ever paid due attention to the solemnities of the Church, and was anxious to show his respect for its ministers. On one occasion, when attending divine service in the chapel of the University

of Alcalá, he declined to take the throne which had been prepared for him, and took his seat with the canons, saying that "he could find no better place than among such reverend and learned divines." After the death of the empress, he heard a private mass for her every day as soon as he had risen; and when he had despatched the business of the audience-chamber he repaired to the chapel and heard mass there in public. At Yuste he caused four masses to be performed every day; two for the souls of his parents, another for his wife, and a fourth for himself, at which last he was always present. He seemed desirous, on all occasions, to manifest the earnestness of his devotion. When one of the brethren, soon after his arrival, abashed by the emperor's presence, hesitated to sprinkle him with the holy water, he took the hyssop from the monk and scattered the drops liberally over himself, saying, "This is the way, father, you must do in future, and without any fear." On Good Friday, when the convent was assembled to adore the Cross, Charles appeared with his household, who applied the scourge briskly to themselves, as they followed their master. He allowed the monks to take precedence; and, though so feeble at the time as to require the support of his attendants, he insisted on going through all the ceremonies practised by the brethren, prostrating himself thrice on the ground, before saluting the cross with his lips.

Charles was punctual—as far as his health permitted him—in observing the fasts and festivals of the Church. His infirmities excused him, to some

extent from the former. In 1554 he had obtained a bull from Julius the Third, granting him a dispensation for breaking the fast even on the mornings when he was to take the sacrament. In the terms of the instrument, " he was discharged from any scruples of conscience that he might experience for having done this at any time before, with a complete dispensation for the future; " and this was granted him, it was said, " not only on account of the infirm state of his health, but of the pious zeal with which he had ever stood forth as the defender of the Catholic faith."

But, though Charles was excused by his infirmities from keeping the fasts of the Church, he was very strict in enforcing the observance of them by his people. He was no less so in requiring their attention to other religious ordinances. On Ash Wednesday, when all his household were expected to partake of the sacrament, he might be seen standing on the upper steps of the altar, taking note that no one of the number was absent. He set an edifying example in his own person. Every Friday in Lent he took his place in the choir; and after the ceremonies were finished, and the monks had extinguished their tapers, the emperor followed their example, and applied the lash with such good will to his back and shoulders that it was stained with his blood. The scourages which he used were preserved in a coffer, among other relics and precious memorials of his father's piety, by Philip the Second, and by that monarch bequeathed to his imbecile son and successor, Philip the Third.

While Charles was thus mindful of the lugubrious ceremonies of the Church, he did not allow its festivals to pass unheeded. The most interesting of these, from its connection with his personal history, was the *fête* of St. Matthias. The twenty-fourth of February, the day of this apostle, was as important an epoch in Charles's life as the third of September was in that of Oliver Cromwell. It was the day on which the emperor was born; that on which he won the great victory of Pavia over his rival, Francis the First; that on which he received the imperial crown from the pope at Bologna; and, finally, it was the birthday of his natural son, the famous John of Austria. So fruitful an anniversary could not be allowed to pass unheeded by the monarch, who ever held his patron, St. Matthias, in the greatest honor. The pope had granted an indulgence to all who should be in the same place with the emperor on that day, or even where his remains were, after death.

Charles continued to observe the *fête* of St. Matthias at Yuste with the same solemnity, if not with the same pomp, as when upon the throne. On the morning of that day he appeared in the chapel richly attired, with the superb collar of the Golden Fleece hanging from his neck. He was attended by his household, all dressed in their gala suits for the occasion. After high mass had been performed, Charles approached the altar, and, kneeling down, returned thanks to the Almighty for the countless blessings that had been heaped on his head. He then laid his gift reverently on the altar, consisting of as many gold pieces as he

had numbered years of his life. After this came a sermon from Father Villalva. But the church was unable to contain half of those who had come to celebrate the jubilee. They had gathered from forty leagues round, to profit by the indulgence, and to see the great emperor who had exchanged the pomps of the world for a life of penitence and prayer in the solitudes of Estremadura. An altar was raised in the open fields, not far from the garden gate, where mass was performed; and while the discourse was going on in the neighboring church, another was delivered from a pulpit under the shadows of the famous walnut-tree of Yuste, which still throws its gigantic arms over the spot where the multitudes gathered to celebrate the festival of St. Matthias.

Another anniversary, which derives its interest from its connection with the emperor's cloister life, is worthy of notice. This was the third of February, St. Blas's day, the date of his arrival in Yuste. A singular circumstance gave a peculiar character to the celebration of it. When Charles had nearly completed a year of his residence, the master of the novices told Moron, the keeper of the wardrobe, that he must learn from the emperor whether he was contented with his way of life and was willing to make his profession; for, after the year had passed, he would not be allowed, by the rules of the order, to leave the convent. The Jeronymite, as the chronicler tells us, hardly expected that this would be reported to the emperor. But the latter, when it was repeated by Moron, took it in good part, and, though laboring at that

time under an attack of the gout, determined to enter into the humor of the thing. He announced, accordingly, that he was well content with the convent, and, if the brethren were contented with him, they might consider him as having professed from that hour.

He then inquired what ceremonies were necessary on the occasion. He was told the first step was to examine into the lineage of the candidate, and see if he were of the "blue blood,"—*sangre azul*,—that is, without taint of Moorish or Jewish ancestry.* The pedigree of his majesty made such an inquiry in his case superfluous. But the act of profession required to be celebrated with certain solemnities that could not so well be dispensed with. Charles gave orders that they should be punctually observed. Accordingly, on St. Blas's day, mass was celebrated in the chapel, a procession was formed of all the brethren, *Te Deum* was chanted, and a sermon was pronounced by the emperor's favorite preacher, who told his hearers "how much more glorious it was to become the servant of Christ, poor and lowly as such a condition might be, than to be the lord of the whole world." The religious services were concluded by a scene of a more festive character, as was usual when a new member was admitted into the fraternity. A table was spread in the refectory, sumptuously provided at the emperor's expense, and garnished with game and other dain-

* [The *sangre azul*, clearly showing through the fair skin over the veins of the wrist, proclaims the Visigothic ancestry of which the noblest Spaniards are to-day so proud.—M.]

ties, which had been sent for the occasion from the neighboring villages. The Flemings from Cuacos, with their wives, dressed in their holiday apparel, came to partake of the good cheer with the Jeronymite brethren; and when the banquet was ended, the latter, who had been long pent up within the walls of the monastery, were permitted to go forth and spend the remainder of the day in rambling among the forests on the slopes of the mountain.

The accession of the imperial neophyte to their body was a proud day for the community of Yuste. They seem to have had no doubt of the sincerity of the emperor's profession. At least, they intimated as much by opening a new register, bearing the names of the professed, at the head of which was the name of Charles, written with his own hand. "Whether it was by way of jest, or spiritual pastime, or however one may call it, so it was," says the chronicler of the order. Beneath the royal autograph was inscribed the following sentence: "Dedicated to the eternal memory of this illustrious and puissant monarch, in order that the future members of this house may glorify themselves on seeing their own names inscribed beneath the name of this great prince." The volume, thus royally illustrated, was cherished with pious care by the community till the beginning of the present century, when in 1809 the monastery of Yuste was sacked by the French, and the archives, like everything else within its walls, were converted into a heap of ruins.

Charles was sufficiently affable in his deport-

ment towards the Jeronymites. He knew them all by name, and occasionally conversed with them. Indeed, he showed them a degree of kindness, and even consideration, that was incomprehensible to his household, especially the Flemings, whose feelings seem to have been anything but those of deference for the friars. On one occasion he bestowed a gratuity on the monks, which led to a remonstrance from the board of visitors on their annual inspection of the convent. "The order," they said, "supplied the brethren with all that was necessary for the performance of their duties. His majesty's bounty would only serve to make them listless and lazy, fond of gormandizing and sleeping; and God grant that the mischief might extend no farther!" Charles admitted the reasonableness of the objections, and promised to refrain from such indiscreet generosity for the future.

Once during his residence at Yuste he condescended to dine with the brethren in the refectory. He sat at a separate table, and Van Male acted as his carver. But Charles's dainty appetite had been too long accustomed to the savory messes of his own kitchen to relish the simple fare of the convent. He had made but slender progress in the repast, when he suddenly rose and withdrew. Not to mortify his hosts, however, he told them, as he left, to set aside the untasted dishes for him, adding that "he should not yet hold them quits." But, for all this, he never dined with them again; still less did he ever return the compliment, by asking any of them to dine with him. The Jeronymites were not long in finding that, notwithstand-

ing his late act of profession, brother Charles was not a whit more of a monk than when he first took up his residence at Yuste. Their prior having died, they besought the emperor to obtain from the general of the society permission for them to elect a new prior. But Charles testily answered that "he would not be pestered with their affairs, or with those of their order either."

During the first months, indeed the greater part of the first year, of the emperor's cloister life, his health visibly improved,—the consequence, it may be, of change of climate and occupations. At least, such is the view taken of it by the Jeronymite historian, who tells us that the "equable temperature of Yuste, where the monarch's senses were regaled with the delicious fragrance of the groves and gardens, and, above all, the holy calm of his present occupations, far from the feverish turmoil of the world, diffused a sweet serenity over his soul and gave new vigor to his constitution." From whatever cause the favorable change in his health and spirits proceeded, it was the subject of frequent remark among the members of his family. "The emperor," writes Gaztelu to the secretary Vazquez, "is so well, and in such good condition, that you would hardly know him." This was in June. In the following August, Quixada, in a letter to the same functionary, notices the "excellent health of his master, who eats and sleeps well, and, with the exception of an occasional twinge of gout in the fingers and shoulder, has nothing to complain of. He enjoys his present quiet life, has no desire to exchange it

for any other, and, in short, is the most contented man in the world."

Unfortunately, the contentment of the monarch was not shared by his household. The major-domo, in particular, gave vent to his ill humor in more than one petulant letter to Vazquez, to whom he unbosomed himself in the fulness of his heart. "If his majesty," he writes, "wanted solitude, by my faith he has got it. . . . This is the most wretched and lonely life I ever passed; fit only for those who desire to give up the world and turn friars, of which number I am not one. But, God willing, I will make some change before long."

Shortly after, he obtained a furlough from the emperor, with leave to pay a visit to his family at Villagarcia. Overjoyed, he wrote at once to Vasquez, "I shall not return in a hurry, I assure you, to eat truffles and asparagus in Estremadura!" But it was not Quixada's destiny to live separate from his master. The latter, during the major-domo's absence, employed one of the monks as his commissary, to cater for the palace. But the good father knew but little of the affairs of this world, and proved so incompetent to his office that Charles caused a despatch to be sent forthwith to his old servant, desiring his instant return. "I believe that his majesty," wrote Gaztelu, with great satisfaction, "is now convinced that the monks are not fit to be employed in anything whatever." Quixada was requested to bring his family along with him and take up his residence permanently at Cuacos.

The idea of thus removing all his family to

Yuste, as to a permanent abode, was a bitter pill to the major-domo. It was a severe trial to his loyalty; but in the end his attachment to his master prevailed, and he made his preparations for obeying him, though, it must be admitted, with a very bad grace. On his return, he poured forth his complaints into the ear of his friend Vasquez. "I should say nothing of the inconvenience of leaving my own quarters, were it not that I am transferred to a spot where there is nothing to eat, no house fit to live in, and where my days are spent in running to and from the monastery; and this in all weathers, in heat and cold, in rain and snow; it is all one. I feel chiefly, however," he adds, "for my wife,—to be thus brought from her pleasant residence at Villagarcia to this dreary solitude, where there are no amusements or enjoyments of any kind. But his majesty," he concludes, "will be served by it; so I must acquiesce, though much against my will, I assure you; and especially when I consider that my past services have not been so well requited that I should feel under any obligation to render new ones." This amiable epistle is dated "the thirtieth of August, from Yuste,—woe betide him who built it!" Gaztelu chimes in with the same tune, though in a more subdued key. "Many of the Flemings," he writes, "complain, I am told, of the way of life, and none are contented. The worst is, there is good reason for this. But breathe it to no one," adds the cautious secretary. "His majesty," he continues, "is in excellent condition, growing fresher and fatter every day. There is

not one of the household to compare with him in health. As for the rest of us, indeed, we are all on the sick-list."

It may well be imagined that the household were careful not to betray their discontent to their master. If they did, he gave little heed to it. He had not that light and fickle temper which would readily render him disgusted with his own plans. He had reached at last the quiet haven he had so long sighed for; and now that he was relieved from the burden of sovereignty, which of late years had bowed him to the earth, his weary spirit welcomed the repose which it found in the shades of Yuste. Not that he had lost his interest in public affairs. Far from this, as we shall soon see, his advice in respect to them—the precious fruit of his large experience—was as freely given as it was asked. But it was only as an adviser, not as an actor, that he now appeared; and it was a great thing to be discharged from the wearing responsibility which had robbed him of his rest by night, and turned his hairs gray before the prime of manhood.

It is not strange that both health and spirits should have improved under the influence of his present regular way of life. Not that this was in all respects the most judicious possible. The free indulgence of his appetite, which had been his besetting sin in the world, still clung to him in the cloister; and his friends, with indiscreet kindness, continued to tempt him by presents of pernicious dainties at Yuste, in the same manner as they had done at Jarandilla. But the evil consequences

were counteracted, to a considerable extent, by the circumstances of his present position. In the fine weather of the spring and summer he was much in the open air. He took pleasure in pruning his young trees and tending his plants. He was fond of a garden; and we are indebted to him, it is said, for the introduction into Europe of the little garden pink, which he brought back from his African campaigns, and which will continue to bloom when the wreath of the conqueror shall have faded and been forgotten. He found occupation for his leisure in building the terrace already noticed, on a level with the second floor of his mansion, planting it with orange-trees, and ornamenting it with flowers and fountains that filled the air with a cool and delicious fragrance.

In early days Charles had been passionately fond of field-sports. He would follow the chase with such eagerness as to leave his attendants far behind, and sometimes to lose himself among the mountains. When he found his way back, led by some peasant guide late in the evening, lights were in the windows of all the houses, and the bells were ringing to call the people together to go in search of him. These were the days when he was accounted "the most perfect cavalier of his time;" when a soldier-chronicler could lament that "the best light-horseman in the world was spoiled by Charles's having been born to a throne." It was in these days that he carried off the prizes at the Moorish tilt of reeds and at the Christian tourney; when, it was said, he even coveted the honors of the *matador*, and, with the national spirit of the

old Castilian, would descend into the arena and contend against the bull. But all this was changed; and many a year had passed since the emperor had mounted his war-horse, or followed the chase in the German forests or the wild passes of the Alpuxarras. In place of his noble stud, he had brought with him to Yuste only a one-eyed pony and a mule. Once only did he venture into the saddle, when he was seized with a giddiness which compelled him hastily to dismount. The poor emperor was as little able to ride as to walk. Henceforth his only mode of conveyance, when he went beyond the boundaries of the garden, was the litter or the arm-chair,—most frequently the latter,—borne by his attendants. Yet he would still occasionally endeavor to revive the recollections of his sporting days by an excursion into the neighboring woods, where he would do some execution on such birds as came within the range of his fowling-piece. Gaztelu, in a letter dated the fifth of June, mentions, with great satisfaction, that his master had been strong enough to rise from his seat without aid and shoot two pigeons with his arquebuse.

The tranquillity of Charles's present way of life suited his taste so well that he made arrangements not only for embellishing his house, but for extending it and rendering it more comfortable as a permanent residence. A stove of curious construction was ordered to be sent from Quixada's place at Villagarcia, whither it had been brought from Flanders. A suit of tapestry from the Flemish looms, displaying the emperor's cam-

paign against Tunis, which still adorns the queen's palace at Madrid, was also received at Yuste. Charles further amused himself with designs for an oratory, as well as with a more extended plan for a new building, which he intended for the reception of Philip when he should return to Spain. He looked forward with the greatest interest to a visit from his son, and talked to the monks of the arrangements that it would be necessary to make for the king's accommodation. Philip did indeed make his visit to the convent, but not till twelve years had passed away, when his father had long since gone to his rest, and, after "life's fitful fever," lay quietly sleeping in the vaults of Yuste.*

* [Philip remained two days at Yuste in 1570. Out of respect to his father he would not sleep in the room where the emperor died. When the monks asked alms from him, he refused their requests, saying, "You never could have had my father here a year without feathering your nest."—M.

FRANCIS OF LORRAINE, DUKE OF GUISE

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Goupil & Cie Paris

BOOK III

Erroneous Opinions respecting Charles—His Interest in Public Affairs—Luis de Avila—Petty Annoyances—Visit of Francisco Borja—Charles's Memoirs of Himself—Visit of his Sisters to Yuste—Death of Queen Eleanor—Charles's Resignation of the Imperial Title—His Zeal for the Faith

IT has been a commonly received opinion that Charles the Fifth, on entering his monastic retreat, conformed so far to the spirit of the place as to abjure all connection with temporal concerns and to devote himself entirely to the great work of his own salvation. This opinion found favor with the ancient chroniclers, who, as we have intimated, thought by it to enhance the value of the sacrifice made by a monarch who could descend from the proudest pinnacle of earthly grandeur to bury himself in a convent. "He was as completely withdrawn from the business of the kingdom and the concerns of the government," says one historian, "as if he had never taken part in them;" —"so entirely abstracted in his solitude," says another contemporary, "that neither the arrival of the treasures brought in his fleets from the Indies, nor the sound of arms, amidst which his life had been hitherto passed, had any power to disturb his tranquillity." Yet the same writer tells us that, on one occasion, the minister Granvelle having remarked to Philip the Second that it was the anniversary of the day on which his father had abdicated the government, "True," replied the

king, "and the anniversary also of the day on which he repented having done so." The incorrectness of these statements is proved by the letters of Charles himself, as well as by those of his household, from the convent of Yuste.

When the monarch took up his abode among the Jeronymites, the affairs of Philip wore a gloomy and most disheartening aspect. We have seen, in a former chapter, the disgust expressed by Charles at the truce which the duke of Alva, when in the full tide of his victorious career, had made with the Roman pontiff, and which, the emperor predicted, would only serve to give breathing-time to the enemy and enable him to gather strength to renew the struggle. The French king had profited by it to push his army across the Alps, under the command of the duke of Guise, whose brilliant defence of Metz, some years previous, against the best troops of Spain, with the emperor at their head, had established his military reputation. This gallant chieftain, descending towards the south, after a junction with the papal troops, crossed the frontiers of Naples, at the head of his army, and fell with pitiless fury on the flourishing towns and hamlets that lay along the borders. A considerable force, at the same time, under Coligni, governor of Picardy, menaced Flanders with an invasion on the west; while Solyman the Magnificent was invited to co-operate with the two Christian powers and make a descent on the Spanish settlements on the Mediterranean. With the tempest thus gathering around him from every quarter, the young and inexperienced Philip natu-

rally turned for support to the parent by whose sagacious counsels he had been guided through the whole of his life. He despatched his confidential minister, Ruy Gomez, afterwards prince of Eboli, to Yuste, with instructions to obtain from the emperor his advice as to the best mode of conducting the war. He was to solicit him in the most humble manner, and to urge him with every argument he could think of, not merely to give his advice, but to leave the monastery for a time, and take up his residence in some place suited to his health, where by his personal presence and authority he might assume the direction of affairs. Such a step could not fail to insure success. The mere report of it would strike terror into the enemies of Spain and disconcert their measures.

Ruy Gomez reached the convent on the twenty-third day of March, 1557. He was graciously received by Charles, who paid him the extraordinary compliment of ordering Quixada to prepare an apartment for him in the palace. Two days the accomplished envoy of Philip remained at Yuste; and five hours of each day he passed in the cabinet of the emperor, who thus had full opportunity of communicating his own views in regard to the state of affairs and the best mode of arranging the plan of the campaign. Ruy Gomez had been directed to state to Charles the embarrassments under which Philip labored from the want of funds; and, as the attention of the latter was necessarily engaged by the operations in the field, the emperor was to be urged, with all the address of which the envoy was capable, to take charge of

the financial department himself, to devise the means for raising the necessary supplies and to superintend their punctual remittance to the seat of war.

Charles had no mind to leave the quiet haven where he was now moored and throw himself again on the troubled sea of political life. But he renewed a promise which he had already made by letter to his son, to aid him by word and deed, as far as was in his power in his retirement. He engaged, moreover, to do all that he could in the way of providing him with money, "fearing," as he afterwards, wrote, "he could be of little use to him in any other way." This, the most burdensome duty of government, was particularly so in an age when the resources of a country were so little understood, and when, in default of any sure and well-arranged system of taxation, it was usual to resort to benevolence, monopolies, loans at exorbitant interest, and other temporary shifts, that entailed a heritage of woe on the nation. Of this Philip the Second himself lived long enough to have dismal experience. That the emperor should have taken charge, to any extent, of this department, is a sufficient refutation of those idle calumnies which accuse the son of parsimony in his dealings with his father; since it was not Philip who was to supply Charles with funds, but Charles who was to supply Philip.

The emperor, faithful to his engagements, caused letters to be written—occasionally, when his fingers were in condition for it, writing with his own hand—to his daughter, the regent, and to

her secretary, Vazquez. In these he indicated the places to be defended, the troops to be raised, and the best mode of providing the funds. He especially recommended a benevolence from the clergy, and made application himself to some of the great dignitaries of the Church. By these means considerable sums were raised, and remittances, under his vigorous direction, were forthwith made to the duke of Alva, who was thus enabled to prosecute the Italian campaign with vigor. In this way did Charles, even in his retirement, render effectual service to his son. His counsels may be said to have directed the policy of the regent's court at Valladolid; and the despatches from Yuste were held in much the same deference as the edicts which had formerly issued from the imperial cabinet.

In his financial concerns, Charles experienced annoyance from a quarter whence he had little expected it. It was required that all the bullion brought home in the India fleets, whether on public or private account, should be lodged in the keeping of the *Casa de la Contratacion*, or Board of Trade, at Seville. There it was duly registered; and the government had been in the habit of applying it to its own use when the exigencies of the state seemed to require it, giving bonds to the owners by way of security for its repayment. At the present time the amount of gold registered was no less than five millions of ducats,—an important fund, on which Philip relied for meeting the expenses of the war. But the merchants of Seville, to whom a great part of the treasure

belonged, naturally preferring their gold to government paper, had, with the collusion of some of the officers of the Board of Trade, secretly transferred the bullion from the vaults where it was lodged to their own quarters. When Philip was made acquainted with this high-handed proceeding, his perplexity was extreme; and he gave vent to his indignation in a letter to Joanna, in which he denounced the parties implicated as enemies to their country, who "not only made war on the property of their sovereign, but on his honor and reputation."

But Philip's indignation was light in comparison with the wrath of his father; or habit had enabled him to put a stronger curb on the indulgence of it. Charles regarded the transaction with the eye of a despotic prince, who sees only one side in a case where the government is a party; and he held the merchants who had thus taken possession of their property as so many knaves who had robbed the exchequer. The officers who had connived at it he held as offenders of a still deeper dye. "Were it not for my infirmities," he writes to Joanna, "I would go to Seville myself, find out the authors of this villany, and bring them to a speedy reckoning." In a letter to the secretary Vazquez, he says, "The culprits should be arrested, put in irons, and removed, under a strong guard, to Simancas, where they should be thrown into a dungeon, and their effects sequestrated, until the king's pleasure can be known." "Indeed," writes his secretary, Gaztelu, in another letter of the same date, "such is the emperor's

indignation, and such are the violent and bloodthirsty expressions he commands me to use, that you will pardon me if my language is not so temperate as it might be."

The stern mandates were obeyed. The guilty functionaries were deposed from their offices and imprisoned in Simancas, where one of their number perished miserably from the injuries he suffered on the rack. But the gold was not recovered. Charles, however, shrewdly provided against the recurrence of the proceeding, by ordering a vessel at once to be despatched to the Azores, where it would meet the India fleet on its return, and measures might be arranged for defeating any attempt of the merchants to recover their gold on its arrival at Seville.

Cheering news now arrived from the seat of war. Tidings were brought to Yuste that the English had at length made common cause with Spain. The news, writes Gaztelu to the secretary Vazquez, gave infinite pleasure to his majesty, "who," he adds in the next sentence, "was no less delighted with the seeds you sent him, as he will now have plenty of melons, of which he is very fond, for his table next summer." Every new contribution to the imperial bill of fare, whether in the form of fruit or flesh, was sure to receive honorable mention in the despatches from Yuste.

Soon after came the welcome intelligence of the victory of St. Quentin, where the Constable Montmorency was made prisoner, and the flower of the French chivalry fell on the field of battle. The tidings caused a great sensation in the imperial

household, and the joy of Charles was unbounded. He looked on it as an auspicious augury for the beginning of Philip's reign, like that great victory of Pavia which had heralded in his own. He rewarded the messenger who brought the news with sixty gold ducats and a chain of equal value. He caused processions to be formed by the monks, masses to be said in the chapel, and thanks to be offered up to Heaven for the glorious event. The only thing that damped his joy was the circumstance of his son's absence from the fight. Philip had lamented this himself, in a letter to his father. He could not lament it more sincerely than Charles did. "He cannot be consoled," wrote Quixada, "for the king's absence on that day;" and the writer forthwith proceeds to curse the English as the cause of it. Charles loved his son too tenderly, or was too politic, to throw the blame upon him. Yet he must have felt that, had he been in Philip's place, no power on earth would have been strong enough to keep him from the field where so much glory was to be won. But he soon turned from the victory to the fruits of it. "His majesty," writes Quixada, "desires exceedingly to know what course his son has taken since the battle. He is very impatient on this point, and reckons that he must already be under the walls of Paris." He judged of Philip's temper by his own. But there was a wide difference between them. Charles, bold and determined, would have pressed on towards the capital while the enemy was stunned by the blow he had received. But Philip was sluggish in his movements. He was of

a more cautious nature. Charles counted the chances of success. Philip calculated those of failure. He called to mind his father's invasion of France and his disastrous retreat; when the Spaniards, it was tauntingly said, "marched into the country feasting on turkeys, but were glad to escape from it feeding on roots." Instead of striking into the interior, therefore, Philip took the more prudent course of besieging the fortified places in the neighborhood. In his operations, his father was of no small assistance to him by exerting his authority, and by writing in the most pressing terms to the regent to lose no time in making the remittances to the king, so essential to the success of the campaign.

Yuste now became the centre of political movement. Couriers were constantly passing between that place and the courts of Brussels and Valladolid. Envoys arrived at the convent, not only from those courts, but from foreign princes, to conduct negotiations with Charles in person. It came soon to be understood that the abdicated monarch was not immured in the cell of a monk, and that his will still exercised a potent influence on public affairs. Many were the pilgrimages now made to Yuste by suitors who came to request his good offices in their behalf, or by parties who sought redress of grievances, or by the great lords, who came simply to pay their homage to their former master. Among the latter was the old count of Ureña, who came with such a throng of servants and horses that Quixada found it no easy matter to provide for him. On the major-domo

devolved all the duties of the commissariat; and, as no one lodged at Yuste, he was compelled to find accommodations for the visitors at Cuacos. "I am obliged to play the landlord to every one who comes here," he complains in one of his letters, "and to act as the agent of every man in Spain." "Night never comes," he elsewhere laments, "without my feet aching more than I can bear; and there is not a day in which I am not on my legs at least half a dozen hours, waiting on the emperor,—to say nothing of the time spent in running here and there in the way of my vocation." When Charles's health permitted it, and he was in a cheerful mood, he usually gave a gracious reception to his visitors. At other times he would refuse to see them, as was the case with the admiral of Aragon, who came to interest the emperor in his suit against the grand master of the order to Montesa. On these occasions he would turn them over to his major-domo, or refer them at once, for the settlement of their affairs, to the court of Brussels or Valladolid. "If he had given audience to all who came there," exclaims a Jeronymite chronicler then resident at the convent, "he would have turned Yuste itself into a court."

There was one class of applicants who seemed to have a peculiar claim on his attention,—the widows of the soldiers who had served under his banner in Africa and in Europe. The sight of these poor women, which called to mind the day of his military renown, seems to have touched the heart of the old campaigner; and it was rare that

their business did not speed as favorably as they could have desired.

Among the visitors, two are deserving of particular notice, from their personal relations with the emperor. One of these was Sepulveda, who, after officiating as his chaplain, had been appointed by Charles to the post of national historiographer. He was a man of learning, and preferred to write his works in the Latin tongue, thinking probably, with the English poet, that

> "Those who lasting marble seek
> Must carve in Latin or in Greek."

He was distingushed, indeed, by such a fluent elegance of style that he received the name of the Spanish Livy. Charles held the historian in great esteem, in proof of which, as Sepulveda was getting old, the monarch ordered particular care to be taken that no harm should come to his manuscript, in case of its author's death before it had been put to the press.

The emperor felt a solicitude, not unnatural in one who had performed so great achievements, as to the manner in which they might be presented on the page of history. Few writers who had hitherto dealt with his character had satisfied him. Two of the principal, Sleidan and Paulo Giovio, he used to call "his two liars,"—the one because of his slanders, the other because of his flattery. He looked to Sepulveda to do him justice; to do for him with his pen what Titian had done for him with his pencil,—exhibit him in his true proportions, and in a permanent form, to the eye of

posterity. The historian had been lately raised to the dignity of arch-priest of Ledesma. He had now come, after an absence of many years in Germany, to take possession of his benefice and lay his bones in his native land. On his journey through the country he deviated from his route in order to pay his respects to his ancient lord. He was kindly received by Charles, and, during the few days he passed at Yuste, Sepulveda, who seems at that time to have been employed on the emperor's biography, had the means of gathering some important information from the subject of his narrative. When, however, he proposed to read to Charles what he had already written, the monarch refused to listen to it. "I will neither hear nor read," said he, "what people have written of me. Others may do this, after I am gone. But, if you wish for information on any point, you have only to ask, and I will willingly give it."

How free he was from that petty vanity which, like a flaw in some noble piece of statuary, sometimes disfigures even the fairest character, may be seen also by his remarks to the historian Avila. That accomplished courtier and soldier, who, after fighting by his master's side in his wars against the German Protestants, had spread the fame of his exploits over Christendom by his elegant Commentaries, resided, as we have already seen, in the city of Plasencia. Here the weary statesman, withdrawn from public affairs, was passing the evening of his days in elegant retirement, embellishing his residence with costly works of art, and

amusing his leisure with the composition of an historical work on the emperor's campaigns in Africa, which was to form a counterpart to his previous Commentaries. The work, much commended by those critics of the time who had access to it, has met with a fate by no means rare in Spain, and still remains in manuscript. As Plasencia was but a few leagues from Yuste, the grand commander made frequent visits to the convent, where he was sure to receive a gracious welcome from the emperor. Avila's splendid mansion in Plasencia was adorned with more than one picture commemorating the deeds of his favorite hero. Among other subjects was the battle of Renti, painted in fresco on one of the ceilings. This was a bloody fight, attended with so doubtful an issue that both sides claimed the victory. Avila, however, had no doubts on the matter, and, like a true-hearted hidalgo, had caused the French to be represented as put to a shameful rout, and flying off the field, in all directions, before the conquering Spaniards. This did not altogether please the emperor, who, when Avila had described the picture to him, remarked that "it was not correct; that, far from being routed, the French had made a well-ordered retreat; and that the artist must go over his work again and make it conformable to truth."

There was no one of the household at Yuste who took so deep an interest in the progress of the campaign then going on in Picardy as Charles himself. His first question, on waking in the morning, was whether anything new had been

received from the seat of war. He listened to the despatches with great attention, inquiring whether there was nothing further, and frequently causing them to be read to him more than once. He was always desirous to get letters from his son, and would sometimes complain that they were too short. Indeed, Philip, however attentive he may have been to the wishes and wants of his father in other respects, cannot be acquitted of a degree of negligence amounting almost to ingratitude, in not furnishing him with the information which he so much coveted in respect to the course of public events. The letters which he wrote to his father while in Yuste did not exceed six in number. Philip, on the throne, did not find so much time for writing letters as his father, at Yuste, did for reading them.

The great interest, and indeed the active part, which Charles took in the management of affairs, led to the report that he was about to leave the convent and assume the command of the army in Navarre. He seems to have taken no pains to contradict the rumor, thinking, perhaps, with Philip, that such an expectation might be of service to the cause. That it imposed on Avila seems pretty evident from a letter of his, dated the thirteenth of August, to the secretary Vazquez. "I have left *Brother Charles*," he writes, "in a state of perfect tranquillity, and with full confidence in his strength. He thinks he has quite enough to enable him to leave the convent. Since I was there, things may have changed; but there is nothing of which I do not believe him capable, from

the love he bears his son, as well as from his courageous heart and his early habits, for he has been nourished in war, as the salamander, they say, is bred in the fire." Quixada was not so easily duped by appearances. On his return from Villagarcia, where he had been to visit his family, he wrote, "As to what people here say of his majesty's quitting the place, there are no grounds for it. I observe no change in him; but, on the contrary, a decided feeling of contentment and repose. If he has said anything to encourage the idea, it must have been from mere policy. The thing is impossible."

Navarre, thus assigned as the theatre on which Charles was to make his reappearance before the world, was the subject of a long and perplexing negotiation at Yuste. The country was a conquest of his grandfather, Ferdinand the Catholic, and now formed an integral part of the Spanish monarchy. The emperor had always entertained some doubt—as well he might—of the justice of this acquisition, and some scruples of conscience as to his right to retain it. These scruples, however, were not by any means so powerful as to compel him to a restitution. They were, indeed, such as might be said rather to tease than to torment his conscience; and he quieted them altogether by means of a secret clause in his will, dated some years before his abdication, in which he enjoined on his successor to look carefully into the matter and do what was right in it. Having thus happily relieved his conscience of all further responsibility in the affair, he seems to have discharged it from

his thoughts. It was, however, again brought before him by the aggrieved party.

The right of the dethroned family had vested in Antony of Bourbon, duke of Vendome, who had married the heiress of the house of Albret. This prince, styled by the French writers king of Navarre, would willingly have exchanged his barren sovereignty for a substantial consideration, like the duchy of Milan, or some other territory which the Spanish crown possessed in Italy. This was the object of a negotiation brought before Charles by the duke's emissaries at Burgos, resumed afterwards at Jarandilla, and finally conducted with great pertinacity and prolixity at Yuste. It was not the purpose of the Spanish government either to make restitution or compensation to Vendome. But he was still possessed of that portion of the patrimony of the house of Albret which lay north of the Pyrenees; and were he to throw himself into the arms of France he might afford obvious facilities to the enemy for an invasion of Navarre. It was well, therefore, to amuse him by encouraging his hopes, so as to gain time. "At all events," wrote the emperor to his daughter, "we cannot fail to profit by drawing out the negotiations as long as possible." When, however, Navarre had been put in a proper posture of defence, and the army was sufficiently strengthened to resist invasion, the government took a more decided tone; and the conferences were abruptly closed by Charles, who ordered Vendome to be told that, "since he had rejected the proposals made to him, neither the emperor

nor his son would have anything more to do with him." It is evident that the crafty policy which had distinguished the emperor on the throne did not desert him in the cloister.

The tidings from Italy were now of the most encouraging kind. Every courier brought accounts of fresh successes of the duke of Alva. That able commander, with the help of the funds remitted from Spain, for which he was greatly indebted to Charles's exertions, had got together a force large enough to enable him to make head against his rival, the duke of Guise. He accordingly marched rapidly towards the north. As he advanced, the places which had been conquered by the French threw open their gates to receive him. Guise hardly waited for his arrival; and Alva, without the hazard of a battle, drove his enemy across the borders. He then fell with his whole strength on the papal territory. City and hamlet went down before him; and Paul the Fourth, from his palace of the Vatican, might descry the course of the enemy's march by the smoking ruins of the Campagna. The duke even brought his victorious legions up to the gates of the capital. For a few hours the fate of Rome trembled in the balance, as the Spanish general threatened to repeat the bloody drama which had been acted by the constable of Bourbon, and which still lingered in the memory of many a Roman. The panic of the inhabitants was fearful. With frantic cries they called on Paul to come to terms with the enemy. The arrogant pontiff saw that the mood of the people was a dangerous one, and that no

alternative remained but to submit. In this hour of humiliation, the clemency—the superstition of his enemies converted his humiliation into triumph.

Philip had long felt that there was neither profit nor honor to be gained from a war with the pope. Nothing, indeed, but the reckless violence of Paul could have forced him into a war with the Church, opposed as such a step was to both his principles and his established policy. It was as the champion of the Church, not as its assailant, that Philip would stand before the world. He instructed Alva to extricate him from his present position by coming to terms as soon as possible with his holiness. A treaty was accordingly signed, on the fourteenth of September, by which it was agreed that all conquests made from the Church should be restored to it, and that the Spanish commander should publicly ask pardon for having borne arms against the Holy See. It was a treaty, as Alva bluntly remarked, "that seemed to have been dictated by the vanquished rather than the victor." There was no help for it, however. The orders of Philip were peremptory; and Paul the Fourth, after all his disasters, had the satisfaction of seeing his enemy sue for forgiveness on his knees, and of granting him absolution. "Had I been king," said Alva, indignant at the humiliation, "his holiness should have sent one of his nephews to Brussels to sue for my pardon, instead of my general's having to sue for his."

The news of the peace was received with joy throughout Spain, where the inhabitants seemed

to be as anxious as their sovereign for a reconciliation with Rome. The tidings were everywhere greeted with illuminations, bonfires, ringing of bells, and solemn processions. Joanna, with the infant Don Carlos, assisted at two of these latter, of which an account was sent by the secretary Vazquez to Yuste; where despatches were also received containing the terms of the treaty. They made a very different impression on the emperor from what they had done on the public. He had never shared in his son's scruples in regard to the war. "It was a just war," he said. "The pope could not have dealt worse with Philip if he had been a heretic; and he stood excused before God and man from the consequences of a war into which he had been driven by necessity. It was even a matter of regret at Yuste, when a courier arrived from Italy, that he brought no tidings of the death of Paul or of his mischievous counsellors, the Caraffas![1] If he had learned that Rome had been sacked by Alva, as it had formerly been by his own troops under Bourbon, it would probably have disturbed him less than the terms of the present treaty.

As he listened to the despatches, he could not repress his indignation. The secret articles, he said, were as scandalous as the public. Not a day

[1] "Del Papa y de Caraffa se siente aqui que no haya llegado la nueva de que se han muerto, que es harto daño que se desee esto á un Vicario de Jesus Cristo, y en España, y mucho mayor que dé ocasion el Papa para ello." Carta de Martin de Gaztelu á Vazquez de Molina, 8 de Noviembre, 1556, MS.—I give the original, as I have not seen this remarkable passage quoted elsewhere, and the letter containing it is not in Gachard's printed collection.

passed, for a month afterwards, according to Quixada, without his muttering between his teeth in tones scarcely audible, but plainly intimating his discontent. When he was told that Alva was preparing to quit his government as Naples and return home, "his anger," says the secretary, "was more than was good for his health." Some time afterwards, the grand commander Avila brought him a letter from the duke, in which he expressed the hope that he might be allowed, on his return, to kiss the hand of his majesty. On this Charles did not vouchsafe a remark; and, when Avila would have read some particulars which the duke communicated in regard to the treaty, the emperor would not listen to them,—saying, he had heard too much already.

The reader has seen enough to be aware that the emperor's anger was misdirected,—that it should have fallen not on the duke, who only obeyed orders, but on the king, who gave them. Yet no reflection on his son's conduct escaped his lips; and, as it was necessary that his wrath should find some object on which to expend itself, Alva, the agent who carried the obnoxious measures into execution, became the scape-goat. Charles, indeed, seems to have persuaded himself that he deserved to be so. When the monarch learned, shortly before his death, that his son had bestowed on his general the sum of a hundred and fifty thousand ducats, "He has done more for the duke," exclaimed the emperor, "than the duke ever did for him."

Unfortunately, at the time of receiving the

Italian news the emperor was smarting under an attack of gout,—the more severe, perhaps, from the long interval which had elapsed since the preceding one. The disturbance caused by the unwelcome tidings no doubt aggravated the disorder; and his bodily pains by no means served to allay the irritation of his temper. "It was the sharpest attack," he said, "he had ever experienced." Sixteen ounces of blood were taken from him by his physician on one day; and Quixada, who feared the consequences of his master's plethoric habit and self-indulgence at the table, expressed a wish that, instead of sixteen ounces, it had been thirty.

To add to Charles's disgust at this time, he was exposed to some of those petty annoyances that are often quite as trying to the temper as those of a more serious nature. The inhabitants of the adjoining village of Cuacos seem to have been a rude, unmannerly race, showing but little of the reverence that might have been expected for the illustrious recluse who had taken up his residence in their neighborhood. They seized and impounded his cattle when they strayed from their pastures. They fished in the streams which were reserved to supply his table with trout. They plundered his orchards, quarrelled with his domestics,—in short, contrived in a hundred ways to inflict on him those annoyances of which he had had no experience until he descended into a private station. This was rendered the more disagreeable from the fact that the people of Cuacos had been in a peculiar manner the subjects of the emperor's bounty since

his residence among them. From the time he came to Yuste he had been in the habit of appropriating a part of his revenue to charitable uses, dispensing a liberal sum, through his almoner, for the relief of the peasantry in the *Vera*, releasing poor debtors from prison, and providing marriage-portions for the young maidens. Cuacos, where many of his household lodged, had reaped the full benefit of his charities. There was abundant occasion for them during the first summer of Charles's convent life, when the crops failed to such an extent that many persons actually perished of famine. The distress of the peasantry was so great that they were driven to plunder the emperor's sumpter mules on their way to the convent.

At his request, the government had appointed a magistrate to act as a sort of rural judge of the district, with authority to decide in cases in which the emperor was a party. By his assistance, several of the culprits were brought to justice; but, through Charles's interposition, the punishment was a light one. A depredation of a serious nature was committed in his own house, where eight hundred ducats were purloined from his coffers. The theft must have been perpetrated by one of his family; and the judge recommended the application of the torture,—the most effectual mode of extracting evidence in that day. The emperor, however, would not consent to it, and put a stop to further proceedings, wisely remarking, at the same time, that " there were some cases in which it was as well not to know the truth."

On the eleventh of June died John the Third,

king of Portugal. He had married the emperor's youngest sister, Catherine, whom he intrusted by his will both with the regency of the kingdom and the guardianship of his grandson and infant heir to the crown, Don Sebastian,—the prince whose quixotic adventures and mysterious fate, turning history into romance, furnish the most extraordinary pages in the Portuguese annals. The young prince was also grandson of Charles, being the child of his daughter, Joanna, and the only fruit of her short-lived union with the prince of Portugal. Joanna felt herself much aggrieved by the will of her father-in-law, conceiving that she had a better title than Queen Catherine both to the regency and to the guardianship of the boy. She accordingly sent an envoy, Don Fadrique Henriquez de Guzman, charged with letters to the queen-regent and to some of the great lords, in which she set forth her pretensions. Don Fadrique stopped at Yuste to acquaint the emperor with the purport of his mission. Charles saw at once the mischief that might arise from the interference of his daughter in this delicate business. Without hesitation he took possession of the despatches, and substituted others in their place, addressed to the queen, his sister, in which he condoled with her on her late bereavement and offered the consolations of an affectionate brother. At the same time, he wrote to his daughter, stating what he had done, and gently rebuking her for an interference which might well lead to a serious misunderstanding between the courts of Spain and Portugal. He concluded his paternal homily

by reminding her how important it was for members of the same family to maintain an affectionate intercourse with one another. The course so promptly taken by Charles on this occasion shows how absolute was the control which he exercised in his seclusion, and the deference which was paid to it even by persons highest in authority.

While the emperor thus wisely stopped the negotiations of his daughter, he opened one on his own account with the queen-regent of Portugal. The object of this was to secure to his grandson, Carlos, the succession to that crown in case of the death of the young Sebastian. This would unite under one sceptre the different states of the Peninsula. The project failed; for the national spirit of the Portuguese, always jealous of their Spanish neighbors, made it too hazardous for Catherine to entertain it for a moment; and Charles was persuaded by her arguments to renounce it. It was a grand idea, however, that of thus bringing together two nations which, by community of race, language, and religion, would seem originally to have been designed for one. It shows how, in the depth of the cloisters, Charles's comprehensive mind was occupied with the interests of his country. Events were not ripe for such a consummation. But it would have gladdened the heart of the great emperor could he have foreseen that a quarter of a century would not elapse before it would be achieved by his own son.

The man whom Charles had employed on this delicate and confidential mission was no other than his friend Francisco Borja. The good father

chose to perform his journey on foot; and the fatigue of travel threw him into a fever, which had wellnigh ended his earthly pilgrimage. On his return, he passed some two or three days at Yuste, where he was cordially welcomed; for between the imperial recluse and the noble Jesuit similarity of circumstances had created a sympathy such as existed between Charles and no other person. Brother Francis, if we may take the word of his biographers, even received the extraordinary compliment of being lodged in the palace, where he was supplied, each day, with a dish from the emperor's table.

The conversation of the two friends naturally turned on the circumstances of their situation. In the course of it, the emperor regretted that his infirmities were such as not to allow him to perform the penance he wished, by dispensing with a bed and lying in his clothes all night. Brother Francis slept in his frock, and on a board. "It is," replied the Jesuit, in the courtly strain which savored of his early breeding, "because your majesty has so long watched in your armor that you cannot now sleep in your clothes. But, Heaven be praised! you have done more good by the vigils you have kept in defence of the Faith than was ever done by monks who have slept all night in hair-cloth."

Some allusion having been made to Borja's children, Charles was surprised to find how entirely his friend's devotion to his new calling had absorbed his sympathies, to the exclusion of those who were nearest and should have been dearest to him. It was otherwise with the emperor, whose

attachment to his own family was in no degree blunted by his cloister life.

One curious point of casuistry was submitted by the monarch to his guest. Charles wished to know if there could be anything wrong in a man's writing his own biography, provided it were done in good faith and nothing set down from vanity. He had written his memoirs, he added, from no desire of self-glorification, but simply to correct sundry errors which had been circulated of him, and to exhibit his conduct in its true light. "Should you find," he said, "that my pen has been guided by secret vanity,—for I am aware that the heart is a great deceiver in these matters, —I would throw it down at once, and give what I have written to the wind, since it would be as empty as the wind." One would have liked to be edified by the father's answer, which, unfortunately, has not been preserved. We can hardly imagine that he could have insisted on the suppression of a work conducted on such sound principles and of such interest to the world. But it has never come to light.

That Charles did write such an autobiography, or a portion of it, is proved by other evidence. His learned chamberlain, Van Male, assures his correspondent that his master, when sailing on the Rhine, wrote an account of his journeys and his military expeditions to as late a date as 1550. A work compiled under such circumstances could have been little more than a sketch,—unless we suppose that the composition then begun was completed in the leisure of later years. That it was

something more than a fragment seems probable from the general tone of Van Male's remarks, who commends it, moreover, for the elegance of the style, as well as for its dignified tone and its fidelity to historic truth. The admiring chamberlain deeply regrets that the emperor will not give his production to the public, but "keeps it locked under a hundred keys." It seems, however, he obtained his master's consent to make a Latin translation of the work, which, with much self-complacency, he proposes to execute in "a style that should combine the separate merits of Tacitus, Livy, Suetonius, and Cæsar."

Unhappily, the world was not destined to profit by this rare style of composition; for, on his master's death, Luis Quixada—as the poor chamberlain used afterwards to complain with tears in his eyes—entered his apartment and carried off the emperor's manuscript. He remembered enough of its contents, he was wont to add, to compose another memoir of the emperor, which he intended to do. On his death, which occurred only two years later, Philip ordered that the poor gentleman's papers should be searched, and that any which might be found relating to the emperor should be sent to him, to be thrown into the fire. No such memoir was found, however; and the report ran that Van Male had burnt most of his papers before his death. It may seem strange that Philip should have desired to destroy a history of his father compiled by one who, from his daily intercourse with him, had enjoyed the best means of information. Perhaps it was for that very rea-

son that he wished to destroy it. Van Male had been behind the scenes where the purple was laid aside. Philip considered that a king was hedged round with a peculiar sanctity, which the prying eye of the vulgar was not to penetrate. He would have his father presented to the world as a hero; and no man, he knew, was a hero to his *valet de chambre*.[2]

What was the precise character of Charles's autobiography we have no means of determining. War had been the great business of his life; and, from the hints dropped by Van Male, it is not improbable that the work consisted of military memoirs, fashioned, it may be, on Cæsar's Commentaries, which he held in great esteem, and a translation of which was among the small collection of volumes he took with him to Yuste. But, however this may be, anything relating to the times, from the pen of one who may be said to have controlled the politics of Europe for nearly half a century, would be of inestimable value; and the loss of such a work must be deplored by every friend of science.

[2] M. Gachard, in the second volume of his "*Retraite et Mort de Charles-Quint*" (Preface, p. 150), which has made its appearance since the text above was written, notices, as one of the items in an inventory of the emperor's effects prepared by order of his executors, a velvet bag containing papers formerly in the possession of Van Male, and taken from him by Luis Quixada and afterwards placed in the hands of the king. This confirms the truth of Van Male's own statement, and leads very naturally to the conclusion that among these papers was the memoir of Charles the Fifth. Of their subsequent fate we know nothing. But this should not surprise us. There is more than one well-attested instance on record of Philip's having destroyed documents that he did not care should meet the eye of posterity.

In the latter part of September, Yuste was honored by the presence of the emperor's two sisters, the dowager queens of France and Hungary. When he had been advised of their coming, considering that the palace would afford no accommodation for the royal ladies with their numerous train, he ordered Quixada to find lodgings for them at Jarandilla,—probably in the same hospitable halls of Oropesa where he had himself found a shelter. The poor major-domo, who found it no easy matter to provide for the royal household from the famine-stricken *Vera*, was driven to his wits' ends by the prospect of the new demands that were to be made on his larder. "We can give their majesties plenty of ice," he wrote to his friend, the secretary of state, "and that is the greatest dainty we can give them."

Charles, who had not seen his sisters since he parted from them at Valladolid, received them with much kindness. To Eleanor, the ex-queen of France and Portugal, he was particularly attached. Her gentle manners and amiable character made her generally beloved. Mary's masculine understanding rendered her a more fitting companion for his business hours. She was often closeted with him in his cabinet, where they would read over together the latest despatches from the seat of war. Charles deferred much to her judgment, which had been sharpened by long practice in affairs of government. He seems to have always entertained a high opinion of the capacity of the sex. His earliest years had been spent at the court of a woman, his aunt, Margaret of

Savoy, who swayed the viceregal sceptre of the Netherlands with great ability; and when it passed into the hands of Mary she acquitted herself with no less credit in a post that proved so embarrassing to her successors. Indeed, Charles had so high an opinion of his sister that he would willingly have associated her in the regency of Spain with his daughter Joanna, who had by no means the efficiency of her aunt,—perhaps, the emperor may have though, not enough for the present critical time. She had spirit enough, however, to decline any partner in the government, much more her aunt of Hungary, who, she said, "was so ambitious of power that she should find herself very soon reduced to a cipher." The project, accordingly, was abandoned. Mary requited her brother's confidence by regarding him with feelings little short of idolatry,—speaking of him as "her all in this world after God."

During nearly three months which the royal matrons passed at Jarandilla, Eleanor was prevented by her feeble health from visiting the convent more than two or three times. Her more robust sister, fond of the saddle and indifferent to the weather, would often gallop through the autumnal woods to Yuste and pass a few hours with the emperor, rarely, however, staying long enough to enliven his solitary repast with her presence. Indeed, it does not appear that she received much encouragement to do so. After the queens had been a few days at Jarandilla, Quixada inquired of his master whether it would not be better to provide quarters for them at Yuste. But Charles replied

that it was best as it was; that they could come over and transact their business when they had a mind, and then go back again. "And since that is his majesty's will in the matter," concludes the major-domo, "there is nothing further to be said."

While at Jarandilla, arrangements were made for an interview between Eleanor and the infanta, Mary of Portugal, her only daughter, by Emmanuel the Great. It was twenty-five years since she had seen her child, and she longed with a mother's yearning to have her remove to Spain, where the queen during the brief remainder of her days might enjoy the consolation of her daughter's society. But Mary, who had been born and bred in Portugal, where she continued after her widowed mother had given her hand to Francis the First, had no mind to leave her native land, still less to live in Spain. It had once been proposed to unite her to her cousin Philip, and she may have resented the indignity put on her by that prince when, in obedience to his politic father, he had transferred his heart—at least his hand—from Mary of Portugal to his kinswoman Mary of England. It is certain, too, that the infanta was much under the influence of the clergy, who profited too largely by her benefactions to wish to see her transfer her residence to Castile. The free hand with which she applied her revenues to religious uses gained for her a reputation little short of that of a saint. But, like some other saints, Mary seemed to think that the favor of Heaven was best to be propitiated by the sacrifice of earthly ties. However submissive to the Church

she might be, she was far from being a dutiful or affectionate daughter.

The affair became the subject of an extensive correspondence, in which the emperor took part, soothing by turns the irritation of the mother and of the daughter, and endeavoring to bring them nearer to each other. In the end after a negotiation as long and embarrassing as if a treaty between nations had been the subject, he had the satisfaction of seeing a meeting arranged between the parties in the frontier town of Badajoz. The infanta would consent to no spot farther removed from Portugal. The meeting was to take place in the coming spring; and on the fourteenth of December the two queens rode over to the convent to take leave of their brother, preparatory to their departure. Besides their usual train, he provided them with an escort, consisting of the count of Oropesa with other nobles and cavaliers, to accompany them to the place of interview. There they found the infanta, attended by a brilliant retinue of the great lords and ecclesiastics of Portugal, intimating the high consideration which she enjoyed in that country. A detachment from this body she sent forward to Yuste, to bear her compliments to her uncle the emperor.

The fond mother had the happiness of embracing the child from whom she had been separated for so many years. Both she and her sister Mary gave substantial proofs of their affection in the magnificent presents which they lavished on the infanta. Among these were jewels given by Queen Eleanor, of the value of fifty thousand

gold ducats. But neither presents, nor caresses, nor the tears of her mother, had any power to touch the heart of the infanta. She would not relent in her original purpose of remaining in Portugal. Nor would she prolong the interview beyond three weeks, at the end of which she bade a last adieu to her mother and her aunt, and, turning her back forever on Spain, she retraced her steps to Lisbon. Her disconsolate parent, attended by the queen of Hungary, set out on a pilgrimage to Guadalupe, but had hardly gone a few leagues when she was attacked by a fever, caused in part, no doubt, by the agitation of her mind, which was soon attended with the most alarming symptoms.

While this was passing, the little community of Yuste was astounded by tidings of a disastrous character from France. The duke of Guise, mortified by the result of the Italian campaign, was desirous, by some brilliant achievement, to efface the memory of his disasters and to raise the drooping spirits of the nation. The enterprise he proposed was the recovery of Calais,—that stronghold on the French soil where England had planted her foot immovably for more than two centuries. The recovery of this place at some future day had been the fond hope in which the French had indulged, like that once entertained by the Moriscos on the Barbary coast of the recovery of the lost kingdom of Granada. It was a hope, however, rather than an expectation. The English, on their part, were confident in the impregnable character of the place, as was implied

by an inscription in bronze on the gates, which boasted that "the French would never besiege Calais till lead and iron should swim like cork." It was this confidence which proved their ruin.

Guise conducted his movements with silence and celerity. He mustered his forces, marched upon Calais in the dead of winter, and, when an enemy was least expected, presented himself before the gates. It was the first day of January, 1558. The forts which covered the place were stormed; and the town, shorn of its defences, fell an easy prey into the hands of the victors. A single week had sufficed for the conquest of the strong post which had defied the arms of England under Edward the Third for nearly a twelve-month.

The report of this brilliant *coup-de-main* filled the country with unbounded joy. The heart of every Frenchman swelled with exultation as he learned that the foul stain was at length wiped away from the national scutcheon.* The English were in the same proportion depresesd by the tidings; and Philip might well tremble for the Netherlands, as he saw the bulwark removed which had hitherto served to stay the tide of invasion on that quarter. Ill news is said to travel apace.

* [Mary of England, against the advice of her councillors, had declared war against France to please her husband, Philip of Spain. Now she found herself reft of "the chief jewel of the realm." The surrender of Guisnes, following shortly after, left England without a foot of land on the Continent. To Mary the capture of Calais was a death-blow. The dying woman saw in it the last sign of God's displeasure. Her people were frantic with mortification and rage. And yet, after all, the loss of the city was not a misfortune to England. Her Continental possessions were rather a source of weakness than of strength.—M.]

And it may be thought strange that, even in that age, an event of such interest as the loss of Calais should have been more than three weeks in getting to the regent at Valladolid, and still three days more in reaching Yuste. It must be admitted to form a striking contrast to the electric speed with which intelligence is communicated in our day.

The news reached Yuste on the third of February. Charles was at the time in a low state, not having rallied as yet from his last attack of gout, —the second which he had had during the winter. Though supported by cushions in his easy-chair, he said "the pain pierced to the very bones." The courier who brought the tidings of the loss of Calais arrived in the evening. Quixada deferred communicating them to his master till the next morning, lest they should cause him a sleepless night. He judged right. Charles said, when the news was told to him, "that nothing he had ever heard had given him so much pain." It was not the loss of Calais simply that he deplored. His eye glanced to the consequences. He saw in imagination the French sweeping across the borders and carrying devastation up to the very gates of Brussels. As far back as November, having heard of preparations in France, he had warned the government that an attempt would probably be made by the enemy to recover some of the places he had lost. He did not now waste his time in idle lament. Feeble as he was, he at once sent despatches to Valladolid, urging the regent to lose no time in forwarding remittances to her brother, as on them must depend his power of

keeping the field and protecting the Netherlands against invasion. "I know," concluded Charles, "that you will require no arguments of mine to make you use all diligence in the matter. But I cannot help writing; for I feel so sensibly what may be the consequences of the late disaster, that I shall have no more peace till I learn what has been done to repair it." Thus stimulated, the government at Valladolid made extraordinary efforts; and such large remittances of funds were promptly sent to Philip as enabled him to keep on foot a force of sufficient strength to cover the frontier, and in the end—after his father's death —to dictate the terms of a peace as honorable to Spain as it was inglorious to the enemy.

While affairs abroad were in this gloomy condition, Charles was more keenly distressed by tidings of a domestic calamity. This was the death of his sister, the queen of France. The fever which had interrupted her journey, and confined her in a little town only three leagues from Badajoz, was aggravated by an attack of asthma, to which disease she had long been subject. The symptoms became every day more unfavorable. The complicated malady baffled all the skill of her physician; and it was soon evident that Eleanor's days were numbered. Gaztelu, the emperor's secretary, had been sent by him with despatches for the queen of Hungary. He arrived just in time to receive the last instructions of her sister. He found the dying queen in full possession of her faculties, waiting with resignation for the hour when her gentle spirit should be released. She

charged the secretary with many tender remembrances for her brother, whom she besought with all humility, by the love he had always borne her, to watch over the interests of her child when she should be no more here to do it herself. Her last thoughts were occupied with the daughter who had made so poor a requital for her tenderness. By her will she made her the sole heir to the extensive estates she possessed both in France and Spain, which, combined with the large domains belonging to the infanta in Portugal, made her the most splendid match in Christendom. But, though proposals were made for her alliance with more than one prince, it was the destiny of Mary of Avis to live and die a maid. She survived her mother but a few years; and the greater part of her princely patrimony she devoted, at her death, to the endowment of convents and chapels, and other religious uses, for which she is held in reverence by the Portuguese chroniclers, and her memory cherished as that of one who had died in the odor of sanctity.

The emperor, at the time of his sister's illness, was suffering from a fourth attack of gout, no doubt much exasperated by the state of his mind. It was so severe as to confine him for more than a fortnight to his bed. To add to his distress, his mouth was exceedingly inflamed, and his tongue swollen, so that he could take little other nourishment than sweetened biscuit. With this dismal cheer he kept the *fête* of St. Matthias, the twenty-fourth of February,—his own birthday,—in strong contrast to the joyous manner in which

he had celebrated the same anniversary in the preceding year.

Charles was greatly afflicted by the news of his sister's death. Though not accustomed to exhibit his emotions, his eyes filled with tears as he spoke of her to his secretary, Gaztelu. " She was a good Christian," he said. " We always loved each other. She was older than I by fifteen months; and before that time has elapsed I shall probably be with her." In less than half that time the sad prediction was fulfilled.

The queen of Hungary was overwhelmed by the blow; and she resolved to repair to Yuste, to seek consolation in the society of her brother. This time he determined to lodge her in the palace, and he gave the major-domo directions accordingly. Charles had sent to Valladolid for mourning, as he intended to put his whole household into black; and he was anxious that it should come before Queen Mary's arrival. He seemed to look forward with a sort of nervous apprehension to their meeting. " I shall never feel that my sister is dead," he said to Quixada, " till I see the queen of Hungary enter the room alone." Both parties were much affected at the interview. But the emperor endeavored to repress his emotions, while his sister gave free indulgence to hers.

The queen was lodged, as her brother had ordered, in an apartment on the lower floor. Her retinue were quartered in Cuacos and Jarandilla, where their presence, greatly increasing the burdens of the commissariat department, gave little joy to its chief. Unfortuately, it was the season

of Lent. "It is no light matter in Estremadura," says the unhappy functionary, "to keep open house in Lent, when fish is the only thing in request. The fish-market of Cuacos is somewhat different from that of Antwerp or Brussels. But we must do the best we can." He concludes by expressing a wish that the secretary Vazquez, to whom he is writing, would send "a supply of fresh salmon, if any can be had, or any other dainty,—above all, herrings, both dry and salt, of which his majesty is especially fond." In a week after this we find a letter from Dr. Mathys, the physician, in which, after some remarks on his master's improved health, as the gout had begun to yield, the writer adds, in a doleful tone, that the emperor had already begun to stimulate his appetite with salt meats, garlic, herrings, and other provocatives, which had always proved so ruinous to his stomach.

Queen Mary protracted her stay for nearly a fortnight. She then took leave of her brother,—a final leave, for they were never to meet again in this world. She established her residence in the neighborhood of Valladolid. The emperor, at Philip's solicitation, earnestly pressed her to return to the Netherlands and to resume the regency, for which she had proved herself so well qualified. With great reluctance, she at last gave her consent, under certain conditions; but her death prevented the execution of the plan, and saved her from the humiliating scenes to which her successor, Margaret of Parma, was exposed by the revolutionary troubles of the country. Mary,

who died of a disease of the heart, much aggravated by the suffering she had of late experienced, survived her brother but a few weeks. In the brief space of two years from the time when the emperor and his sisters had landed in Spain, the earthly career of all of them was closed.

In the month of April, Charles received the intelligence that his renunciation of the empire had at last been accepted. At the time of abdicating his other crowns, he had been persuaded by Philip to defer his resignation of the imperial sceptre for the present. For a short time he consented to retain the title of " emperor," devolving all the real power on his brother Ferdinand, king of the Romans, who was to succeed him on the throne. When the French war broke out, Philip, with still more reason, was desirous that his father should retain the sovereignty of Germany. But Charles had already sent his resignation to the electoral college, and he would take no steps to postpone the meeting of that body. Various circumstances, however, conspired to delay this meeting; and it was not till the twelfth of March, 1558, that the diet, having accepted the renunciation of Charles, finally elected Ferdinand as his successor. It is another proof of the tardy pace at which news travelled in that day, that the tidings of an event of so much interest did not reach Yuste till the twenty-ninth of April. One might have thought that the intelligence would have passed from mouth to mouth in less than half the time that it is stated to have taken to send it by the courier. That this was not so can only be explained by the

low state of commercial intercourse in that day, and by the ignorance of the great mass of the people, which prevented them from taking an interest in public affairs.

It was with undisguised satisfaction that Charles welcomed the tidings of an event that released him from the shadow of sovereignty,—for it was only the shadow that had followed him to Yuste. He wrote at once to Valladolid, directing that all despatches hereafter should be addressed to him as a private individual, not as emperor. He ordered that two seals should be made, without crown, eagle, or other imperial device, but simply with the arms of Spain quartered with those of Burgundy, intimating his descent by father's and mother's side. He commanded the escutcheons and other insignia to be removed from the walls of his convent palace, and the name of Ferdinand to be substituted for his own in the prayers of the Church and the service of the mass. He was so punctilious that, when the ladies of Cuacos presented him with a basket of flowers fancifully disposed so as to represent the imperial crown, he would not allow it to stand in his apartment till the flowers had been rearranged by the gardener in some other form. He called his household together and informed them of Ferdinand's election, adding, "As for me, the name of *Charles* is enough: henceforth I am nothing." To his domestics it seemed as if this renunciation of worldly grandeur was in some sort a preparation for death, and many of them were affected to tears. Even the monks, according to the testimony of one of

their number, could not perform mass without being sensibly touched as they substituted the name of Ferdinand for that of their beloved emperor.

It was at this time that Charles received the alarming intelligence that the Protestant doctrines, which had been convulsing the neighboring countries of Christendom, had at length found their way across the Pyrenees, and were secretly, but by no means slowly, sapping the foundations of the Church. The heretics had even been so audacious as to begin their operations in Valladolid, under the very eye of the regent. The cry was raised, and the bloodhounds of the Holy Office were already on the scent to ferret out the offenders and drag them into day. Charles, whose life had been passed in battling against the heresy of Luther, was filled with horror at the idea of its even then infecting the atmosphere which he breathed. To get rid of the infection by the speediest way possible became now the engrossing subject of his thoughts. On the third of May he wrote to his daughter Joanna, "Tell the grand inquisitor and his council, from me, to be at their posts, and to lay the axe at the root of the evil before it spreads further. I rely on your zeal for bringing the guilty to trial, and for having them punished, without favor to any one, with all the severity that their crimes demand." In another letter, written three weeks later, he says, "If I had not entire confidence that you would do your duty, and arrest the evil at once, by chastising the guilty in good earnest, I know not how I could help leaving the monastery and taking the remedy

into my own hands." He expressed a doubt whether it would not be well, in so black an affair, to dispense with the ordinary course of justice, and to show no mercy; "lest the criminal, if pardoned, should have the opportunity of repeating his crime." He recommended, as an example, his own mode of proceeding in the Netherlands; "where all who remained obstinate in their errors were burned alive, and those who were admitted to penitence were beheaded."

Not content with writing, Charles ordered Quixada to proceed to Valladolid, where he was to see the regent and the inquisitor-general, communicate to them more fully the emperor's views on the subject, and discuss the best mode of carrying them into effect. Charles then wrote to his son, informing him of what he had done, and, to give greater force to his injunctions, added a postscript with his own hand, in which he urged Philip to apply the sharpest and speediest remedy that could be devised for extirpating the seeds of the disease before it had spread over the whole system. His injunctions fell upon willing ears, as appears from the king's memorandum endorsed on his father's letter: "Thank him for the orders he has given, and request him to follow up the affair,—telling him, at the same time, that we shall pursue the same course here, and acquainting him with what has been done already."

The emperor's letters from Yuste afford the strongest evidence of the intolerance of his disposition. The compromises and concessions wrenched from him by the German Protestants

were so many sacrifices to policy, that must have done great violence to his nature. In his correspondence with his family we find the true sentiments of his heart, rendered, doubtless, more austere under the influence of declining health and the monastic life which separated him from the world. One cannot without a shudder see him thus fanning the flame of fanaticism in the bosoms of his children, to whose keeping were intrusted the destinies of the country.

Bigotry seems most naturally to belong to feeble and ignorant minds. It was the peculiar characteristic of the Spanish princes of the house of Austria; and more than one member of that dynasty was feeble to the verge of fatuity. It is the more striking when found to lodge with those extraordinary powers which seem to raise their possessor far above the ordinary level of humanity. Unfortunately, in Charles these powers served only to give greater intensity to the feeling of bigotry, and to make it more widely mischievous in its operation. Instead of a mere passive sentiment, it was quickened into an active principle of fanaticism. His great talents were employed to perfect a system of persecution which led to the most frightful results in the Netherlands. No one of his line did so much to fasten the yoke of superstition on the necks of the Spaniards. He may be truly said to have stamped his character not only on his own generation but on that that followed it. His example and his teachings directed the policy of the pitiless Philip the Second, and, through him, of the imbecile Philip the Third.

His dying words—for his codicil, executed on his death-bed, as we shall see, breathed the same spirit as his letters—still lingered in the ears of his posterity, to urge them forward in the path of persecution; and thus did he become largely responsible for the woes brought on the land long after he had been laid in the dark chambers of the Escorial.

BOOK IV

Charles's Ill Health—He rehearses his Obsequies—Is attacked by his last Illness—Codicil to his Will—Progress of the Disease—Extreme Unction—Last Hours, and Death—Funeral Honors—Philip the Second's Visit to Yuste—Bodies of Charles and his Family removed to the Escorial—Decay of the Convent at Yuste

AS the spring of 1558 advanced, the emperor's health gradually mended. He was extremely sensible to cold; and as the summer drew near he felt the genial influence of the warmer weather, and the letters from Yuste spoke of him as restored to his usual health. With renovated health his appetite returned; and he indulged it in his usual intemperate manner. "His majesty eats much," writes his physician, Dr. Mathys, "and drinks still more, changing nothing of his former way of life, and rashly trusting to the natural strength of his constitution, but little to be relied on in a body so full of bad humors." "Kings," writes Quixada, "must surely imagine their stomachs are made differently from those of other men." At length the bad humors of which the doctor spoke showed themselves in a cutaneous eruption below the knees, which caused Charles great annoyance. To allay the irritation, he slept under the lightest covering, and with the windows and doors of his chamber open. He frequently also bathed his limbs in cold water. His physician looked with distrust on the use of these violent remedies; but the emperor said he would rather

have a little fever than suffer from this intolerable itching. On this Mathys sensibly remarked that it was not given to us to choose our diseases: we might chance, by attempting it, to get something worse than what we have already. The doctor's remonstrances, however, were little heeded by Charles, whose imperious nature had ever made him the most intractable of patients.

The season proved to be extremely unhealthy in the *Vera*, where tertian fever of a malignant type became prevalent and several persons died of it. The count of Oropesa lay so ill of this disease, in his château at Jarandilla, that the emperor sent his own physician to him. On the ninth of August, Charles, after a considerable interval, was attacked by a fit of the gout, which was attributed to a cold taken in consequence of his sleeping with his windows open,—the air, which had been sultry in the evening, having changed and become chilly during the night. The attack does not seem to have been as severe as he had sometimes experienced during his residence at Yuste; for on the fifteenth of the month we find him present at the service in the chapel, though requiring the support of his attendants and seated in his chair. All symptoms of the disease had vanished by the twenty-fourth of August, when we find the letters from Yuste speaking of him as entirely recovered.

It was in the latter part of the month of August that an event is said to have taken place which has afforded a fruitful theme for speculation to modern critics. This was the emperor's celebration of

his own obsequies. According to the two Jeronymite chroniclers from whom the narrative is derived, Charles, who caused masses to be celebrated for the soul of his deceased wife on every anniversary of her death, expressed a wish at this time to his confessor, Juan de Regla, to have funeral services performed in her honor and also in that of his parents. The confessor having approved of this pious intention, preparations were instantly made for carrying it into execution; and the obsequies, occupying three days successively, were celebrated by the whole convent with great solemnity. Charles himself took part in them, taking his place near the altar, and following the service in his prayer-book,—a plain volume, which bore the marks of long and diligent use.

When the ceremony was finished, Charles inquired of his confessor whether it would not be well for him also to perform his own obsequies, and thus see with his own eyes what must soon befall him. The priest, startled by this extraordinary proposal, was much affected, and besought the emperor, with tears in his eyes, not thus to anticipate, as it were, the hour of his death. But Charles, urging the matter, inquired if it would not be profitable for his soul; and, the accommodating father having applauded it, as a pious act, worthy of imitation, arrangements were made for conducting it with greater pomp than that of the preceding services. The chapel was accordingly hung with black, and the blaze of hundreds of wax-lights was scarcely sufficient to dispel the darkness. The brethren in their conventional

dress, and all the emperor's household clad in deep mourning, gathered round a huge catafalque, shrouded also in black, which had been raised in the centre of the chapel. The service for the burial of the dead was then performed; and, amidst the dismal wail of the monks, the prayers ascended for the departed spirit, that it might be received into the mansions of the blessed. The sorrowful attendants were melted to tears, as the image of their master's death was presented to their minds, —or they were touched, it may be, with compassion by this pitiable display of weakness. Charles muffled in a dark mantle, and bearing a lighted candle in his hand, mingled with his household, the spectator of his own obsequies; and the doleful ceremony was concluded by his placing the taper in the hands of the priest, in sign of his surrendering up his soul to the Almighty.

Such is the account given us by the Jeronymite fathers, one of whom was an eye-witness of the scenes he describes,[1] and the other, though not

[1] Nothing is known of this person, except what is to be collected from his own narrative. He was one of the convent, and seems to have lived there during the whole of the time that Charles resided at Yuste. He was one of the few monks selected to keep watch over the emperor's remains after his death, and to accompany them when they were removed to the Escorial. His manuscript, which has very recently been given to the public by the industrious Gachard, found its way, in some manner not easy to be explained, into the archives of the Feudal Court of Brabant in Brussels. It was there discovered, not long since, by M. Bakhuizen van den Brink, a member of that court, and an analysis of it was published by him in the *Bulletins de la Commission Royale d'Histoire.* The narrative is given at length by Gachard, in the second volume of his "*Retraite et Mort de Charles-Quint.*" No one who has read this simple record, which bears on every page the evidence of the writer's calling and of the times in which he lived, can doubt its authenticity for a

present himself, had ample means of obtaining information from those who were.[2] Since that time the story has been repeated by successive writers, gaining at each repetition, until in Robertson's pages we find the emperor performing in his shroud, and then lying down in his coffin, where, after joining in the prayers for the rest of his own soul, not yet departed, he is left by the monks to his meditations. It was not till the present day that a more careful scrutiny, by discovering inconsistencies in the account, led some writers to regard it as a monkish legend, and to doubt the truth of it altogether.

On the afternoon of the same day on which the obsequies had been celebrated, being the thirty-first of August, Charles, according to the Jeronymite, chroniclers, took his seat on the covered terrace on the western side of his house. Here he would often sit, drinking in the sweet odors of the garden, and enjoying the grateful warmth left by the rays of the declining sun. As he sat thus musing, with his eyes fixed on the dial which Tor-

moment. For this reason, notwithstanding it comes to us without a name, it becomes an historical document of great value inferior only to that of the original letters from the members of the emperor's household.

[2] This was Fray Joseph de Siguença, prior of the Escorial. As head of the great Jeronymite monastery, the best sources of information were open to him. He enjoyed, moreover, the opportunity of personal communication with some who were living at Yuste during the emperor's residence there, and who, after his death, accompanied his remains to the Escorial. The result of his investigation he has given in the first volume of his great work, "*Historia de la Orden de San Geronimo*," published at Madrid in 1605; a work which, from the conscientiousness of the writer, and the luminous style in which it is written, holds a high place in the ecclesiastical literature of Spain.

riano had erected for him in the grounds below, he suddenly ordered his jewel-keeper to be called, and directed him to bring a miniature of the empress Isabella, of whom, as we have seen, he had more than one portrait in his collection. He dwelt a long time on her beautiful features, "as if," says the chronicler, "he was imploring her to prepare a place for him in the celestial mansions to which she had gone." Some time longer he spent in contemplating Titian's "Agony in the Garden;" after which he ordered the picture of the "Last Judgment" to be brought to him,—the masterpiece of Titian. It was probably only a sketch, as the great work, which hung on the walls of the chapel, was too large to be removed. Indeed, his testament notices a picture of the "Last Judgment" as among the articles in the possession of his jewel-keeper. He gazed so long and with such rapt attention on the picture as to cause apprehension in his physician, who, in the emperor's debilitated state, feared the effects of such excitement on his nerves. There was good reason for apprehension; for Charles at length, rousing from his reverie, turned to the doctor and complained that he was ill. His pulse showed him to be in a high fever. He soon after withdrew to his chamber, which he was never more to leave.

That this account of the Jeronymite brethren is not perfectly correct is shown by a letter of Dr. Mathys, dated on the first of September, in which he states that, having gone by his master's orders, on the thirtieth of August, to Jarandilla, to attend the count of Oropesa, he found the emperor, on

his return, suffering from a severe headache, which he attributed to the effect of the sun's rays, that fell with great power on the terrace where he had dined. After a sleepless night, continues the doctor, in which the emperor suffered much from thirst, he rose and dressed himself; but, though somewhat better in the morning, in the afternoon he relapsed, the pain in his head returned with increased force, and he exhibited decided symptoms of fever. From this letter of his physician, written on the spot, we see it was impossible that the circumstances mentioned by the Jeronymite historians could have taken place on the day they assign for them. Charles was certainly in no condition on that day for so exciting a scene as the performance of his own obsequies.

A still more formidable objection to the truth of the narrative is furnished by the silence of Charles's household in regard to it. It would seem strange that neither Quixada nor Gaztelu, who were so careful to notice every occurrence of interest in their master's life, should have made any allusion to one so extraordinary as this. This silence is so significant that, instead of negative, it may be thought to acquire the value of positive proof against the truth of the story.

A candid review of the whole matter will suggest some considerations which may tend much to diminish the weight of these objections. With respect to the inaccuracy of the dates, that would not be a marvellous thing at any time, especially with the careless chroniclers of the sixteenth century. The Regent Joanna furnishes a remark-

able example of this inaccuracy in a letter addressed to Philip, giving with much care the circumstances attending their father's illness, in which she falls into the gross blunder of mistaking the date of his death, although the documents from Yuste were before her. It may well be that the date of the funeral services was some days previous to that reported by the monks, when Charles would seem to have been sufficiently recovered from the gout to have taken part in them. With the exception of a few lines from Gaztelu, relating to public business, we have no letter from the secretary or the major-domo between the eighteenth and the twenty-eighth of August; at least, I have none in my collection, and have seen none cited by others. The interval that may have elapsed between the performance of the ceremony and the writing of these functionaries may help to explain their silence on an event which no longer made any strong impression on their minds. For, after all, when due allowance is made for the exaggerated tone natural to the monkish chronicler, this act was one not altogether so different in its character from those celebrations with which Charles used to vary the monotony of his monastic life. Thus he showed a morbid relish for performing the obsequies not merely of his kindred, but of any one whose position seemed to him to furnish an apology for it. Not a member of the *toison* died, but he was prepared to commemorate the event with solemn funeral rites. These, in short, seemed to be the festivities of Charles's cloister life. These lugubrious cere-

monies had a fascination for him that may remind one of the tenacity with which his mother, Joanna, clung to the dead body of her husband, taking it with her wherever she went. It was after celebrating the obsequies of his parents and his wife, which occupied several successive days, that he conceived, as we are told, the idea of rehearsing his own funeral,—a piece of extravagance which becomes the more credible when we reflect on the state of unnatural excitement to which his mind may have been brought by dwelling so long on the dreary apparatus of death.

There is one part of the narrative, however, that cannot be so readily explained,—the portrait scene on the terrace. There must be some error in regard to both the time and the manner of the event, as reported by the chronicler. This scene upon the terrace could not have been the one which immediately preceded the illness of the emperor. This appears from a letter of Dr. Mathys, who, far from being present on that occasion, expressly says that he was with the count of Oropesa at Jarandilla. The portrait scene must have occurred at some earlier period, therefore, unless the reader may be disposed to dismiss it altogether, as one of those legends that have their birth in the cloisters and easily find credit there. There is no pretence that the monk who reports it was himself present. He tells it only as a rumor, and one that, seen through the mist of more than twenty years,—as, from a date in his manuscript, appears to have been the case,—may well have been distorted in his recollection.

But the obsequies stand upon very different ground, as the writer assumes to have been present and to have taken part in them himself. We cannot reject the story without regarding it as a sheer invention of the chronicler. Such an effort of invention may be thought to be no miracle in a monk, especially where the glory of his convent was concerned. But it would be difficult to see how this was to be in any way affected by a matter which was altogether personal to Charles. The character of the writers, moreover, greatly strengthens the improbability of anything like wilful misrepresentation on their part. The manuscript of the monk of Yuste is stamped, as his Belgian editor justly remarks, with the character of simplicity and truth; and Siguença, the other Jeronymite authority, although tinged with the superstition of his age, enjoyed the highest reputation for integrity and good faith. It is a question of difficulties, in whatever light we may choose to regard it; but a candid consideration of all the circumstances may perhaps lead the reader to explain these difficulties by a mistake of the date,—not very extraordinary, considering the length of time that had elapsed since the event,—rather than by a wilful fabrication on the part of the writers.[3]

[3] There is one authority, could his work be recovered, who might probably settle this vexed question. This is Fray Martin de Angulo, prior of Yuste, who prepared, for the information of the Regent Joanna, a full account of the latter days of her father, with whom, as the superior of the convent, he was in the habit of daily communication. His manuscript, which has never found its way to the press, was in the hands of the historian Sandoval, who professes to have transferred its contents to his own pages. In these we find a conversation reported which the emperor had with one of his

But, to return from a discussion longer, it may be thought, than the importance of the subject warrants, it appears from his physician's letter that Charles, after his repast on the terrace on the thirtieth of August, was seized with the illness from which he was destined never to recover. A restless night was succeeded by a day of great suffering. He was tormented with excessive thirst; and the pain in his head was so violent at times that he lost his consciousness. The disease soon took the aspect of malignant tertian fever; and Mathys determined, notwithstanding the weak state of his patient, that, if the symptoms did not prove more favorable on the following day, he would bleed him.

Charles himself became alarmed at his condition. The symptoms of the disease were different from anything which he had before experienced. He made his preparations accordingly, expressed his desire to execute a codicil to his will, and without further delay confessed and received the sacrament. In performing this last act, feeble as he was, he knelt a full quarter of an hour in his bed,

household respecting his mock funeral, which, however, we are to infer, never took place, from its being afterwards stated that the money which Charles designed to appropriate to this object was in the end applied to his real obsequies. Yet the marquis of Valparayso, in a work still in manuscript, which he compiled some seventy years later, with the memoir of Angulo before him as one of his authorities, expressly asserts the fact of the mock funeral having taken place. In this conflict of testimony, it is much to be wished that the original manuscript of Father Angulo could be discovered. It is said still to exist in the National Library of Madrid, where M. Gachard tells us he once had sight of it. But, if so, it has again become engulfed in the ocean of manuscripts in the library, and thus far eluded every effort that has been made to bring it to light.

offering thanks to God for the mercies that had been shown him through life, and expressing the deepest contrition for his sins, with an earnestness of manner that touched the hearts of all present.

Quixada, by his master's orders, wrote to the secretary Vazquez, requesting him to send a commission to Gaztelu investing him with the powers of a notary, as there was no one who could act in that capacity at Yuste. At the same time the major-domo desired that relays of posts might be established along the route to Valladolid, for the more rapid and regular transmission of intelligence. Meanwhile, as Charles's fever increased, the physician took from him ten ounces of a thick, black blood, and on the evening of the same day relieved him of eight more, by which he felt himself to be much benefited. Mathys, however, shrank from the responsibility of taking the sole charge of his illustrious patient at this crisis; but Charles, who seems to have had no great faith in a multitude of counsellors, would not consent that any other doctor should be called in, except Dr. Cornelius, Joanna's physician, who to large medical experience united an intimate knowledge of his constitution.

As Charles required the constant attention of his faithful major-domo, the latter transferred his residence to the convent, that he might remain with his master by night as well as by day. In obedience to the emperor's orders, he had a short time since removed his family from Villagarcia to Cuacos. Doña Magdalena, his wife, was accompanied by her young charge, Don John of Aus-

tria, the emperor's natural son, then a stripling of eleven years of age, whom she had brought up with the tenderness of a mother, though she remained in ignorance of his illustrious origin.* On coming to Cuacos, she was invited by Charles to visit him at Yuste, where he gave her a gracious reception; and, as she doubtless brought her foster-child along with her, the sight of the noble boy, his own offspring, who had already given evidence of the chivalrous spirit of later years, may have shed a ray of satisfaction on the withered heart of the emperor.

The arrival of Dr. Cornelius was attended by no change in the treatment of the patient, as the elder physician entirely approved of the course pursued by his younger brother. But the disease continued rapidly to gain ground. The fever was so high that Charles could hardly endure the lightest covering; and it was occasionally accompanied by violent paroxysms which left him insensible for hours together. On the ninth of the month a commission arrived from Valladolid empowering Gaztelu to act as a notary; and Charles, who was then in the full possession of his faculties, lost no time in executing his codicil. It had been

* [Quixada was almost twice as old as the Magdalena de Ulloa, whom he married in her twenty-fourth year. She supposed Don John to be the result of some old amour of her husband. An accident enabled her to guess at the truth. Their house having taken fire during the night, her husband carried the boy to a place of safety before he attempted to rescue her. "From that moment Magdalena's mind was relieved of its anxiety. Secure of her husband's love, she felt that the boy's safety had been preferred to her own because Quixada's honor was engaged in guarding a trust confided to him by another."—M.]

prepared some time previous, and was of great length, like the testament to which it was attached. By his will he had bequeathed thirty thousand ducats for the portions of young maidens and the liberation of captives from the Moorish dungeons. Another provision of his will, which he now confirmed, directed that thirty thousand masses should be said for the benefit of his soul in the monasteries and parochial churches of Spain and the Netherlands. By his codicil, he assigned gratuities and pensions to each member of his household, from Dr. Mathys down to the meanest scullion. The pensions varied in amount according to the rank of the parties, the highest reaching four hundred florins, and so proceeding by a descending scale to ninety florins annually. Some of the principal Jeronymites who had officiated about the emperor's person came in for a share of his bounty. Two thousand ducats were to be paid at once to Quixada, whose services were noticed in the most affectionate terms, and who was to receive a pension equivalent to his present emoluments until Philip should make some provision for him better suited to his deserts.

But the most remarkable feature of the instrument was the intolerant spirit that breathed through every page of it where religion was concerned. The monotonous and melancholy way of convent life had given a gloomy color to Charles's sentiments, and had imparted something like austerity to his temper. A whimsical proof of this austerity had been furnished some time before, by an ordinance which he had obtained from the

visitors of the convent, and which was proclaimed by sound of trumpet, decreeing a hundred lashes to any woman who should approach within two bow-shots of the gate! Under the corroding influence of an ascetic life, and the decline of his health at Yuste, the feelings of bigotry which belonged to the emperor's nature had been gradually exalted into a more active and mischievous principle of fanaticism. This is evident from the system of persecution which he inculcated in his letters, with so much energy, on those who had the direction of affairs both in Spain and in the Netherlands. He was even heard to express his regret that he had respected the safe-conduct of Luther when the great Reformer presented himself before the diet at Worms. Fortunately for Charles's reputation, his good angel had saved him from the perpetration of a crime which would have branded his name with the infamy that belongs to the murderers of Huss. In the codicil which he now signed, he enjoined upon his son to follow up and bring to justice every heretic in his dominions, and this without exception and without favor or mercy to any one. He conjured Philip to cherish the Holy Inquisition as the best means for accomplishing this good work. "So," he concludes, "shall you have my blessing, and the Lord shall prosper all your undertakings." Such were the last words of the dying monarch to his son. They did not fall on a deaf ear; and the parting admonition of his father served to give a keener edge to the sword of persecution which Philip had already begun to wield.

Charles left directions in his codicil respecting the place of his interment. A few days before, he had held a long conversation with Quixada on the subject. He had originally intended that his remains should be removed to Granada and there laid in its noble cathedral by the side of the empress, his wife. There, too, were gathered the ashes of Philip and Joanna, his parents, and those of his great progenitors, Ferdinand and Isabella, of glorious memory. But he had now changed his mind, and seemed willing that his present residence should also be his final resting-place. He proposed to be buried in the chapel of Yuste, and to have the body of the empress brought from Granada and placed beside his own. But from this he was dissuaded by Quixada, who represented that Yuste was altogether too humble a place and in too defenceless a condition to be a fitting mausoleum for the remains of great princes. Charles yielded to these arguments, and contented himself with directing that his body should be deposited there for the present, leaving it to Philip to decide on the spot where it was permanently to lie, and requiring only that it should be by the side of his beloved wife. The emperor, having listened to the reading of the codicil, signed it on the same day. By this act he seemed to have settled all his worldly affairs and to have terminated his connection with the world. He did not, however, lose his interest in it altogether; and he received with pleasure the news brought him by Garcilasso de la Vega, that his sister, the queen of Hungary, had at length consented to return to

the Netherlands and give the king, her nephew, the benefit of her counsels in the government of that country.

Disastrous intelligence reached Yuste at this time of a great battle fought in the neighborhood of Oran, in which the count of Alcaudete, the governor of that place, and the flower of the Spanish infantry under his command, had been cut to pieces by the Moors. The tidings would have fallen heavily on the heart of the dying emperor, who, as we have seen, had taken the greatest pains to provide for the safety of the Spanish possessions in Africa. But Quixada's prudent precautions prevented anything from being said to Charles on the subject, and saved him from the anguish which would have added a bitterness to death.

The posts now brought daily tidings to Valladolid of the condition of the emperor, filling his daughter Joanna and the queen of Hungary with the deepest anxiety. They would willingly have gone at once to Yuste and taken charge of him in his illness, had he allowed it. But when Quixada intimated to Charles his sister's desire, he replied that she would not come, for that she was too well acquainted with his wishes on the subject. The major-domo hinted that his daughter, the regent, was equally anxious to visit him, and waited only her father's permission to come and nurse him in his illness. The emperor, however, who found much difficulty in speaking, from the soreness of his mouth, only shook his head, as if to intimate that it could not be. But, although his own family

were excluded, his friend the grand master of Alcántara, on learning the critical condition of his master, came over to Yuste, resolved on establishing his residence there till the fate of the emperor was decided.

Charles's constitution was now fast sinking under the ravages of his disorder. As his weakness increased, the physicians endeavored to sustain him by broths, and other simple and nourishing liquids, allowing him even a small quantity of his favorite beer. But his stomach refused to perform its functions, or to retain the food which it received. On the eleventh of the month the tertian changed into what was called a double tertian. The ague-fits became more severe and of longer duration. Frightful chills were succeeded by an access of fever, which ran so high that his reason became affected and he lost all perception of what was passing around him. After one of these paroxysms, on the seventeenth, he remained for twenty hours in a state of utter insensibility. He was again attacked on the nineteenth, and, although the fit was less severe and of much shorter duration, the physicians, fearing he would not survive another, expressed their opinion that the time had arrived for administering extreme unction.

The sound of these words fell like a knell on the ears of the faithful Quixada, who saw in imagination the portals of the tomb already opening to receive his master. His feelings are best expressed in his own letter addressed soon after to the secretary Vazquez. " The doctors say that the disease constantly increases, while every hour, as

his pulse shows, the emperor grows more feeble. As for me, I cannot think he is so near his end; and to-day his mind has not wandered so much as during the last paroxysm. Ever since noon I have prevented them from giving him extreme unction, fearing, though he remains speechless, that it might disturb him. But, as the physicians insist that there is no time for further delay, I have told them that I would be ready, and that they should watch the patient's pulse, and not give the signal until they were certain that the time had come for it. I feel as if I had buried him already more than once. You can well understand how this pierces my very heart." "Since the above was written," continues the major-domo, "the physicians have pressed the matter so strongly that extreme unction has been administered to his majesty, although, as it seems to me, this was somewhat premature. I have done as they advised, for they should know best. You may well comprehend the condition of one like me, who for seven-and-thirty years has served a master whom he is about to lose forever. May it please God to take him to himself if he is to go; though I cannot help repeating that in my judgment it will not be to-night. God be with him, and with us all."

The ceremony, as Quixada says in his affecting letter, was performed on the evening of the nineteenth. It was conducted by the confessor Regla, attended by all the brethren of the convent. The emperor preferred to receive the unction in the form adopted by the friars, which, comprehending a litany, the seven penitential psalms, and sundry

other passages of Scripture, was much longer and more exhausting than the rite used for the laity. His strength, however, did not fail him. He joined with great devotion in the services, which seemed to leave his mind in a state of holy calm, like that of one whose thoughts were now turned to a better life.

On the morning of the twentieth he intimated his wish to be left alone with Quixada. The interview lasted half an hour, during which Charles was able to converse in a low but audible tone. One of the topics was the pensions to be given to his domestics; and he instructed Quixada to press upon Philip the importance of punctuality in their payment. Another subject, still nearer to his heart, had reference to Don John of Austria. He had made no provision for the child, thinking it perhaps more politic to leave him dependent on Philip. It was the course which his wise grandfather, Ferdinand the Catholic, had pursued in respect to his younger grandson, Ferdinand, whom, though his especial favorite, he had left without a legacy, consigned to the care of his elder brother, Charles, the heir to the monarchy. As the event proved, the good will of his brother was the best legacy that could have been left him.

Soon after this conversation, the emperor again confessed, and expressed his intention to receive the sacrament. The major-domo, fearing that his strength would not be equal to the ceremony, reminded him that this was unnecessary, as he had so lately received extreme unction. But the emperor answered that " it was good provision for the long

journey he was about to set out upon." The condition of his throat had been such of late as furnished a new argument to Quixada, who reminded his master that they could not administer to him the sacred elements, as he would be unable to swallow them. Charles replied, "I shall be able," in a tone of decision that adjourned all further debate.

As it was feared that there might not be time for the consecration of a wafer by the performance of the mass, that which was kept on the high altar of the church was brought by the confessor, Juan de Regla, accompanied, as before, by the brethren of the convent, who now, to the number of thirty or more, filled the imperial chamber. Charles received the eucharist with the greatest devotion, saying, "Lord God of truth, our Redeemer, into thy hands I commit my spirit." Quixada then examined his mouth, to see that no particle of the wafer adhered to it. After this, mass was performed. Charles joined in the service with silent but earnest devotion; and when the monks had reached that solemn invocation, "Lamb of God, which takest away the sin of the world, have mercy on us," the dying monarch, feebly raising his hand, beat his breast, with looks of the deepest humility and contrition. The ceremony, instead of fatiguing, seemed rather to relieve him. A sweet composure settled on his spirit, and continued to the last, unruffled by any further attacks of pain, while his faculties remained unclouded.

During the rest of the morning he listened to passages from Scripture, pointing out those which he preferred,—among others, the Passion of our

Lord in St. Luke. Villalva accompanied the reading with such exhortations as were suited to the condition of the emperor, who listened attentively, with his eyes closed, and his hands folded upon his breast. At noon Carranza, archbishop of Toledo, who had been long expected, arrived at Yuste. He was the same "black friar"—so called from his swarthy visage—who had made his name famous by the part he took in the persecutions in England; and he was destined to become still more famous by the unmerited persecution which he himself afterwards endured from the Inquisition. He had come from the Low Countries, and brought tidings of Philip, by whom he had been recently raised to the archiepiscopal see. Unfortunately, he had incurred the suspicions of the Holy Office on the score of his orthodoxy. His residence in Germany, and his familiarity with the writings of Protestant scholars, had led him, no doubt, to modify some of his early opinions. But though, like Pole, Morone, and some other eminent churchmen of the time, he had adopted more liberal views than were sanctioned by the Council of Trent, he was at heart as true a Roman Catholic as the most implacable of his enemies. Some around the emperor, among whom Regla, to judge from his subsequent conduct, was the most active, had infused doubts into the monarch's mind of Carranza's orthodoxy. Charles was in no condition now to examine into the affair; and when the archbishop was introduced into his presence, and, kneeling down by the bedside, kissed the hand of his master, the latter gazed on him for a few

moments in silence, and then bade him take some repose.*

* [Bartolome Carranza, as archbishop of Toledo, held the post of highest consideration, after the papacy, in the Roman Catholic church. His official revenues were enormous, amounting to more than eighty thousand ducats. He had jurisdiction over fifteen large towns and many smaller places, and ruled thousands of vassals. The yearly revenues of the subordinate benefices of the church under his control aggregated one hundred and eighty thousand ducats. Charles had made him confessor to his son Philip, and had also sent him to the Council of Trent. When Philip went to England to marry Mary, Carranza accompanied him and showed distinguished ability in his controversies with the Protestant theologians. He also made himself cordially hated by the English people on account of the zeal he displayed in religious persecutions. The "Black Friar" had twice refused bishoprics before Philip raised him to the archiepiscopal see of Toledo, which he did not wish to accept.

The riches of his see and the splendor of his preferment caused his ruin. His remarkable success raised up enemies against him, the most deadly of whom was Valdés, the archbishop of Seville. Unhappily, Valdés was also the "Grand Inquisitor," and was therefore able to use all the resources of the Inquisition to destroy his rival. The action taken by the Holy Office against the Spanish primate naturally excited intense interest throughout Christendom. Because of his exalted position, the first movement against him was made secretly. On August 22, 1559, he was dragged from his bed at midnight, hurried away to Valladolid, and there thrust into the prison of the Holy Office. Hesitating to appeal to the pope, because Philip had told him always to rely upon him, the archbishop languished for years in confinement. Because heresy was charged against him, Philip, one of the most orthodox of kings, would have nothing to do with him. He even refused to interfere in his behalf when called upon to do so by the Council of Trent. The new pope, Pius V., took action in 1566. He ordered the removal of Valdés from office and summoned the prisoner before his own tribunal. Then he set himself to the examination of Carranza's case. His task must have been phenomenally difficult, for Llorente states that the documents connected with it comprised twenty-six thousand leaves of manuscript. Not until six years had passed was he ready to pronounce judgment. It was understood that it would be favorable to the accused, but as it was about to be published the pope died. The Holy Office, rejoicing, prepared for a new contest, putting forth all its energies to influence Gregory XIII., the new occupant of the chair of Peter. New evidence was brought forward; the old was presented in new forms.

The emperor's life was now fast ebbing away; and his own sensations told him that the scene must soon close. He desired Quixada to have in readiness the holy candles brought from the sanctuary of Our Lady of Montserrat; also an image of the Virgin and a crucifix, which had comforted the empress in her extremity, and which Charles had preserved to solace his last hours. Quixada, who saw that his master was sinking, sent for the archbishop of Toledo, who, at the emperor's desire, read aloud some portions of Scripture,—among the rest, that sublime Psalm, "Out of the depths to Thee have I cried." Then, approaching the emperor's bedside, he knelt down and, holding up a crucifix, exclaimed, "Behold Him who answers for all! There is no more sin: all is forgiven." These words fell upon other ears than those for which they were intended; and the confessor, Regla, made them the grounds of a malicious complaint before the Holy Office, as implying an acquiescence in the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith alone. The words gave much scandal to more than one ecclesiastic in the room, as also

After eighteen years of imprisonment, judgment was at last pronounced. It was an old man who knelt to hear his sentence. The accused was declared to have become infected with the heresy of Luther (whose doctrines he had always vehemently denounced in public and in private). He was condemned to abjure sixteen propōsitions found in his own writings, to be suspended from episcopal functions for five years, and to be confined in a convent of the Dominican order during that period. He was also to celebrate mass at seven of the principal churches in Rome, which he was required to visit by way of penance. Sixteen days after the sentence was pronounced Carranza died. The triumph of the Holy Office was complete, even though the pope afterwards caused a monument to be erected upon which the virtues of the dead prelate were elaborately set forth.—M.]

to the grand master of Alcántara, who besought Villalva to prepare the emperor for his end by a more Catholic exposition of the Christian doctrines. The harsh and disagreeable utterance of Carranza had caused so much annoyance to Charles that Quixada had thought it necessary to caution the primate to speak in a lower tone. He was now succeeded by Villalva, the favorite preacher of the emperor, whom he had so often delighted with his soft, insinuating eloquence.

The Jeronymite resorted to very different sources of consolation from those employed by the archbishop. "Your majesty," said he, "came into the world on the day of St. Matthew; you will leave it on that of St. Matthias. St. Matthew and St. Matthias were two apostles, two brothers, bearing nearly the same name, and both disciples of Jesus Christ. With such intercessors, you can have nothing to fear. Let your majesty turn your heart with confidence to God, who will this day put you in possession of glory." "Thus," in the striking language of Mignet, "the two doctrines which divided the world in the age of Charles the Fifth were once more brought before him, on the bed of death." He was in no condition to observe the peculiarities of these doctrines; but his fainting spirit leaned with pious faith on the assurance which they both gave him of happiness beyond the grave. A sweet serenity settled on his features, "giving token," says the archbishop of Toledo, in a letter written soon after to the regent, "of peace and inward security that filled all who witnessed it with joy."

Besides the archbishop, the prior of Granada, Villalva, and two or three other ecclesiastics, there were present in the chamber the count of Oropesa, with some of his kindred, the grand master of Alcántara, and a few of the great lords, who had been in the habit of coming to pay their respects to the emperor, and who were now gathered around his bedside, gazing mournfully on his revered form, while the shadows of death were stealing over it. For some hours there was silence in the apartment, broken only by the low breathings of the dying man. At length, rousing from his lethargy, Charles seemed to feel a consciousness that his time had come. It was two hours after midnight on the morning of the twenty-first of September. Placing his hand on his pulse, he feebly shook his head, as if to intimate that all was over. He then signed to Quixada to light the taper. At the same time the archbishop placed the crucifix of the empress in his hand. Gazing on it for a moment, he brought it to his lips, and then pressed it fervently on his breast. The archbishop taking the crucifix from his relaxing grasp, held it up before the glazed eyes of the emperor, who, holding the candle in his right hand, and supported by the faithful Quixada, exclaimed, "Now it is time." Then, gazing with unutterable longing on the sacred symbol, to him the memento of earthly as well as heavenly love, he stretched forth his left hand as if to embrace it, called on the name of Jesus, in tones so loud as to be distinctly heard in the next apartment, and, falling back on his pillow, with a convulsive sigh expired. He had

always prayed—fearing perhaps the hereditary taint of insanity—that he might preserve his reason to the last. His prayer was granted.

All present were deeply touched by the solemn and affecting scene. The grand master of Alcántara, in a letter written that same day to the princess Joanna, expressed the happiness it gave him to think that he had been recognized by the emperor to the last. Luis Quixada could hardly comprehend that his master was no more, and, throwing himself upon the lifeless remains, gave way to an agony of grief. The body was suffered to lie upon the bed during the following day. It was placed under the charge of four members of the convent, who, with the major-domo, were the only persons that entered the chamber of death. Quixada would often return during the day to look at his beloved master. During his absence on one occasion, the Jeronymites, as we are informed by one of those on watch, felt a natural curiosity to see the emperor, who was shrouded by the curtains drawn closely around the bed. They were restrained by a feeling of reverence for the dead, and the fear of displeasing Quixada. Curiosity at length prevailed; and, drawing aside the curtains, they gazed with awe on the lifeless form before them. Instead of the pallid hue of death, the countenance was still tinged with a faint color resembling that of life. The expression, fixed as marble, was serene, telling that the hard battle of life was at an end. The head was protected by a delicately embroidered cap; and a loose robe enveloped the person, on the upper part of which

was a covering of black silk. On the breast, near the heart, lay the silver crucifix which the hands of his wife had clasped in the hour of death, and which was destined to comfort the latest moments of his son. Above the head of Charles was suspended a picture of the Virgin, one of the relics which he had reserved for this occasion. While thus gazing, the Jeronymites heard the step of Quixada approaching the chamber, and they speedily closed the curtains.

The emperor's remains were secured in a leaden coffin, which was cased in another of chestnut. They were then lowered through the window in his apartment to the floor of the church. Here they were placed on a catafalque which stood in the centre of the building, shrouded in black and emblazoned with the imperial arms. The walls were also hung with black, while the blaze of countless tapers shed a melancholy lustre over the scene. A vast concourse of persons of every rank, from the surrounding country, filled the edifice. Among them were to be seen the monks of Cuacos and those of different religious communities in the neighborhood. The members of the household were all clad in mourning. Amidst this solemn company the manly form of Quixada was conspicuous, muffled in a dark mantle, which concealed his features. By his side was his royal charge, Don John of Austria, in sable weeds, like himself. The events of that day were well calculated to make a deep impression on the mind of the gallant boy, who, after a brief but brilliant career, claimed, as the best recompense of his services, the

privilege of lying beside his father in the stately mausoleum raised by Philip for the line of Austria.

For three days the obsequies continued, under the direction of the archbishop of Toledo. The Jeronymites of Yuste, the Cordeliers of Jarandilla, the Dominicans of St. Catherine, joined in the funeral chant. A discourse was delivered on each day, beginning with one by Charles's favorite preacher, Villalva. At Quixada's desire, he had made minutes of what had passed in the sick-chamber, and had artfully woven these particulars into his sermon, which he delivered with a tender and impassioned eloquence that thrilled the hearts of all who heard it.

During the services a chair was placed in the choir to accommodate some person of rank whose infirmities made it difficult for him to stand so long a time. But Quixada, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the grand master of Alcántara, the friend of the party, indignantly caused the chair to be removed, remarking that no one would have dared to sit in the presence of the emperor when alive, and that no less respect should be shown to him now that he was dead. In this loyal sentiment he was sustained by the general feeling of the audience, every one of whom remained standing throughout the whole of the long-protracted ceremonies.

At the close of the third day the emperor's interment took place, and his remains were consigned to the earth amidst the tears and lamentations of the multitude. The burial did not take

place, however, without some difficulty. Charles had requested, by his will, that he might be laid partially under the great altar, and in such a manner that his head and the upper part of his body might be under the spot where the priest stood when celebrating mass. The request was made in all humility; but it raised a question among the scrupulous ecclesiastics as to the propriety of permitting any bones save those of a saint to occupy so holy a place as that beneath the altar. The dispute waxed somewhat warmer than was suited to the occasion; till the momentous affair was finally adjusted by having an excavation made in the wall, within which the head was introduced, so as to allow the feet to touch the verge of the hallowed spot.

These mournful rites having been concluded, the archbishop of Toledo and the prior of Granada, together with some other of the high ecclesiastics as well as of the nobles, took their departure. Their places, however, were soon supplied by the concourse from without, until the large church was filled to overflowing. The funeral services were protracted six days longer, during which Villalva continued his pious exhortations, in those warm and touching tones that lingered long in the memory of his hearers. The reputation which he acquired by his fervid eloquence on this occasion commended him in a particular manner to the notice of Philip the Second, who afterwards made him his principal preacher, as his father had done before him.

On the ninth day the ceremonies were terminated. The monks from the neighboring convents returned to their homes; and the church was speedily emptied of the crowd which had assembled there to pay the last tribute of respect to their departed sovereign. Silence again settled upon Yuste; and the brethren of the convent resumed the quiet and monotonous way of life which they had led before the coming of the emperor.

Juan de Regla, Quixada, and Gaztelu had been named as the executors of Charles's will. To the two latter was committed the task of making an inventory of his personal effects at Yuste. Their first care was to settle the wages of the domestics and pay the legacies bequeathed to them by their master. This was soon done; and in a few days they all took their departure for Valladolid. Some of them were received into the service of the regent; but much the greater part, including the amiable Van Male, returned to their native country, the Netherlands, bearing letters of recommendation to the king, and made richer by the pensions bequeathed to them by their imperial master.

Charles had not forgotten the convent in his benefactions. He left twelve hundred ducats to be distributed among its members, the stoves which had been provided for his establishment, and the rich hangings of cloth and velvet employed to decorate the church at his obsequies. But a gift of far more value was the "*Gloria*" of Titian, which was still permitted to hang upon the walls

of the monastery. It was, indeed, too precious to be allowed to remain there long. Among the chattels left by Charles, his one-eyed horse, which he had bestrode only once after his arrival at Yuste, was appropriated by Luis Quixada. But on Dr. Cornelius's laying claim to one of the emperor's mules, an order came from Valladolid that every article, however trifling, with the exception of Quixada's pony, was to be reserved for the regent. Among the royal trumpery was an Indian cat, and a parrot possessed of wonderful gifts in the way of talking, great pets of Charles, with which he had been accustomed to amuse his leisure hours. They were presents from his sister, Catherine of Portugal, and they were now forwarded in a separate litter, under an escort, to Valladolid. In short, everything in the house seemed to have a particular value in Joanna's eyes, as a memorial of her father.

Quixada and Gaztelu, having at length completed their painful task, in December took their final leave of the spot which they had always regarded with feelings of aversion, and which was now associated in their minds with the most saddening recollections. The major-domo removed his family to his residence at Villagarcia, from which he had so recently brought them. There he and Doña Magdalena continued to watch, with parental interest, over the education of their royal charge. Philip, in the meantime, in obedience to his father's wishes, recognized Don John as the son of the emperor, and a glorious career was thus opened to the ambition of the young prince, which,

at the close of his short but eventful life, enabled him to leave an imperishable name in the annals of his country.

The death of Charles the Fifth caused a sensation throughout Christendom inferior only to that occasioned by his abdication. By his own subjects, indeed, the present event was felt still more sensibly, as their loss was far greater. In his retirement, as we have seen, Charles still continued to exercise an important influence on public affairs. But now he was gone forever; and the light of his wise counsels would no longer be shed on the difficult path of his young and inexperienced successor.

His obsequies were celebrated with great pomp, by his daughter, at Valladolid. His friend Francisco Borja delivered the discourse on this occasion. For his text he took the appropriate words, "Lo! then would I wander afar off, and remain in the wilderness." He enriched his discourse with anecdotes and traits of the deceased monarch, whom he held up as a pattern of Christian excellence. Among other facts he mentioned that Charles had once informed him that no day had passed since he was twenty-one years old without his having devoted some portion of it to inward prayer.

Funeral services in Charles's honor were also performed in several other places in Spain, as Toledo, Tarragona, Seville; with still greater pomp in Rome; also in Naples, Lisbon, and Vienna; but above all in Brussels, the capital of the Netherlands, where the ceremonies were con-

ducted with extraordinary splendor, in the presence of Philip and his court.

As soon as the king had received tidings of the death of his father, he ordered that the bells in all the churches and monasteries throughout the country should be tolled thrice a day for four months, and that no festivals or public rejoicings should take place during that time. The twenty-eighth of December was appointed for the celebration of the obsequies in the Flemish capital. A procession was formed, consisting of the great officers of the crown in their robes of state, of the high ecclesiastics and nobles, and of the knights of the Golden Fleece, wearing the superb insignia of their order. In the midst, the king was seen, on foot, with his features buried in a deep hood, and his person muffled in a mourning cloak, the train of which was borne by his favorite minister, Ruy Gomez de Silva. It was evening; and as the long procession moved by torchlight through the streets of the capital, it was escorted by files of the Spanish and German guards in their national uniforms, marching to the low sounds of melancholy music, with a step so slow that it required two hours to reach the place of their destination,—the ancient church of Saint Gudule.

In the centre of the nave stood a pavilion, or chapel as it was called, shrouded in black, and lighted up by three thousand wax tapers. Within might be seen a sarcophagus covered with dark velvet, on which lay the imperial crown with the globe and sceptre. Opposite to the chapel a throne was raised for the king, with seats below to accom-

modate the dignitaries of the Church and the Flemish and Spanish nobles. The galleries above, festooned with drapery of black velvet and cloth of gold, richly emblazoned with the imperial arms, were occupied by the ladies of the court. Never had so grand and imposing a spectacle been witnessed within the walls of this time-honored cathedral. The traveller who at this time visits the venerable pile, where Charles the Fifth was wont to hold the chapters of the Golden Fleece, while he gazes on the characteristic effigy of that monarch, as it is displayed on the superb windows of painted glass, may call to mind the memorable day when the people of Flanders, and the rank and beauty of its capital, were gathered together to celebrate the obsequies of the great emperor; when, amidst clouds of incense and the blaze of myriads of lights, the deep tones of the organ, vibrating through the long aisles, mingled with the voices of the priests, as they chanted their sad requiem to the soul of their departed sovereign.

In 1570—twelve years after the death of his father—Philip paid a visit to the monastery of Yuste. As his carriage wound round the road by the garden wall, he paused to read an inscription cut on the corner-stone beneath the imperial arms: "In this holy house of Jerome of Yuste, Charles the Fifth, emperor, king of the Spains, most Christian, most invincible, passed the close of a life which he had devoted to the defence of the faith and the maintenance of justice." Alighting from his carriage, the king passed through the garden, still filled with the sweet odors of the lime

and the orange, and a wilderness of flowering shrubs, that his father had loved to tend. On the wall of the covered terrace the king might have read another inscription, recording the day on which his father's last illness was supposed to have begun: "His majesty, the emperor Don Charles the Fifth, our lord, was sitting in this place when he was taken ill, on the thirty-first of August, at four in the afternoon. He died on the twenty-first of September, at half-past two in the morning, in the year of grace 1558." The former date should have been a day earlier; and the error shows that the record was made by the monks, as it is the same error into which the Jeronymite chroniclers have fallen in their account of his illness.

Philip carefully examined every part of the dwelling. From a feeling of reverence, he was unwilling to pass the night in his father's chamber, but occupied a small room next to it, hardly large enough to accommodate his couch. Two days were spent by him at Yuste. He does not seem to have been very lavish of his bounty to the monks, leaving them, at his departure, nothing better to remind them of his visit than some relics and a gold cup. He may have thought that they had gained profit enough, as well as honor, by the emperor's residence among them. Not long after, he took from them the picture which had become the pride of their convent,—the Last Judgment of Titian. It was removed to the palace monastery of the Escorial, where it found a more conspicuous place than in the obscure solitudes of Yuste.

The king replaced it by a faithful copy, to be hung over the high altar of the chapel, which several years later was embellished with some rich decorations by the hand of Herrera, the principal architect of the Escorial.

Not many years elapsed before the brethren met with a misfortune which touched them even more nearly than the loss of Titian's picture. This was the removal of the emperor's body from their convent. The circumstance of his having selected Yuste as the retreat in which to pass the evening of his days was not more a source of pride to the monks of St. Jerome than that of their being allowed to retain possession of his remains. But in the winter of 1574 the Escorial was so far advanced as to be ready for their reception; and Philip the Second put in execution the plan he had formed of gathering together the ashes of his kindred and depositing them in the superb mausoleum which he had consecrated to the house of Austria. Arrangements were accordingly made for removing from the different places where they had been interred the bodies of the empress Isabella and two of her sons, who had died in early age, the remains of Mary of Portugal, the first wife of Philip, and, lastly, those of Queen Eleanor of France from their resting-place at Merida.

The funeral processions met at Yuste, where they were joined by a deputation of the monks of St. Jerome, escorting the body of the emperor. Loud was the lament of the brotherhood, as they saw the preparations that were making for depriving them forever of their deceased sovereign.

They felt that the glory that had rested on their convent was departing forever. The orator chosen for the occasion gave utterance to his grief in a gush of warm, impassioned eloquence which showed him to be a worthy disciple of the school of Villalva. Apostrophizing the shade of Charles, he expatiated on the feelings of love and reverence with which the brethren of Yuste would ever cherish the memory of him who had condescended to take up his abode among them. "The Almighty," said the speaker, "has confined all things —the heavens, the earth, and the sea—within their proper bounds. To love alone he has set no limit." The people in the neighboring country shared in the grief of the Jeronymites, and seemed to feel that a portion of that glory which the presence of the emperor had shed upon Yuste was reflected upon them. As the long procession took its way through Cuacos, whose unruly peasantry, it may be remembered, had been a constant source of annoyance to Charles, the inhabitants expressed their regret by a dramatic representation, in which the personifications of the Village and the Desert were made to condole with each other, in rustic verse, on their bereavement.

In the procession were twenty-six friars of the mendicant orders, with eight of the Jeronymites from Yuste. The number was augmented by some of the principal ecclesiastics and great lords of the court. Five mourning-coaches bore the bodies of the deceased; and the funeral train performed its march so slowly that it was ten days before it reached its place of destination. A cloud

had long been gathering above the hills that surround the Escorial; and as the wayworn company entered the consecrated precincts, the storm beat with fury on the gray walls of the monastery. It was amidst this turmoil of the elements, making the vast edifice tremble to its foundation, that the peaceful remains of Charles and his kindred were again committed to the earth.

The emperor's obsequies were conducted here with the same solemn pomp that had attended them at Yuste. By a singular coincidence, the funeral discourse was again pronounced by Villalva, now become the favorite preacher of Philip the Second. The emperor's remains, agreeably to his desire, were laid as nearly as possible beneath the altar, somewhat in front of it, by the side of his beloved Isabella. Above, in a shrine of jasper, the statues of the illustrious pair, executed in copper by Leoni, might be seen, in their finely-wrought mantles, kneeling side by side, with hands clasped, in an attitude of devotion. Behind were the effigies of Charles's two sisters, the queens of France and Hungary, kneeling also, with hands outstretched and their faces turned towards the altar. The bodies of the two royal matrons were deposited in the vault below, near that of their imperial brother; and the friends who had loved one another in life were not divided by death.

Yuste, which had been so long honored as the residence of royalty, was permitted to assume the title of *royal*. The palace became in a particular manner the care of the government; and in 1638 Philip the Fourth appropriated six thousand

ducats for placing it in complete repair. Little was heard of it during the remainder of that century, or the following; and the sorrowful prediction of the Jeronymite orator, that the day would come when Charles's residence in the convent would pass from the memory of men, seemed almost to be verified.

The obscurity of Yuste proved its best protection. The time was to come, however, when this would cease to be so. During the Peninsular War, in 1810, a party of French dragoons foraging in the neighborhood, found the murdered body of one of their comrades not far from the gates of Yuste. Not doubting that he had been made away with by the monks, the infuriated soldiery broke into the convent, scattered its terrified inmates, and set fire to the buildings in various places. For eight days the vast pile continued to burn, with no attempt to check the conflagration. On the ninth it was left a heap of smouldering ruins, a small remnant of the western cloister alone surviving of the main body of the building. The church, from the strength of its walls, was happily able to defy the flames, and served, in its turn, to protect the palace, which, in the rear, had always leaned against it for support.

In 1820 an irruption of the patriots from the neighboring villages completed the work of destruction. They defaced the interior of the buildings that yet remained, despoiling them of every portable article of value, and turning the church itself into a stable. The fine copy of Titian's Last

Judgment, which had hung above the high altar ever since the time of Philip the Second, was appropriated by the liberals of Tejuela and reserved to adorn the walls of their parish church.

Still the monks, though scared from their abodes, continued to linger in the neighborhood, as loath to resign their early home, endeared to them by many glorious recollections. With the first glimpse of better times, a small number of them returned to their ancient quarters, where they contrived for themselves such accommodations as they could amidst the ruins of the cloisters. Here they were visited by more than one traveller, who bears testimony that the brethren still retained their ancient virtue of hospitality, though they had but scanty means for the exercise of it. Their monastic life was destined, however, to be of no long duration. In 1837 came the fatal decree for the suppression of the convents; and the poor Jeronymites, many of them broken by age and infirmities, were once more turned adrift upon the pitiless world, without a home, without even a grave to lie in.

Thus tenantless and neglected, Yuste has gone rapidly to decay. The traveller who visits it now, as he works his way with difficulty through the tangled wilderness of shrubs in what was once the garden, finds little to remind him that the hand of cultivation was ever there. Yet just without the walls he may still see the great walnut-tree of Yuste spreading its broad arms over the spot where once the multitude was gathered to celebrate the birthday of Charles, and where, as it is

said, the monarch himself would often sit and muse,—it may be on the faded glories of the past, or on the darker future.

The stranger may now enter the palace without the need of the royal permit which Charles the Fifth, as we have seen, thought of sufficient importance to make it the subject of special injunction to his son Philip on his death-bed. But as he wanders through the dreary and desolate chambers, now turned into a magazine for grain and olives, the visitor will find it no easy matter to repeople them with the images of former days, when Charles gave audience to foreign envoys in these very apartments, and when priests and nobles stood around his bed, hanging with awful reverence on the last accents of their dying master.

Without, the touch of decay is upon everything. The church still stands; but the delicately carved woodwork of the choir, and the beautiful tiles that adorned the walls, have fallen from their places or been torn away by the hand of violence. All around, the ground is covered with the wreck of former splendors,—with fallen columns and shattered arches; while the black and scathed walls of the older cloister still tower in gloomy grandeur above the scene of desolation. Yet even here kind Nature has been busy, as usual, in covering up the ravages of time and violence,—spreading over them her rich embroidery of wild flowers, and clothing the ghastly skeleton in a robe of beauty.[4]

[4] The most copious, as well as interesting, account of Yuste in its present dilapidated state is to be found in Ford's "Handbook of Spain," vol. i. pp. 552, 553 (ed. 1845), and in the closing pages of

Yuste lives only in the memory of the past. Already her name begins to disappear from the map. But she will ever hold her place in history; and travellers from many a distant clime shall long repair to the memorable spot where, withdrawn from the turmoil of the world, lived and died the greatest monarch of the sixteenth century.

Stirling's "Cloister Life of Charles the Fifth." The rich and eloquent descriptions of both these writers show that they were inspired in full measure by the *genius loci*.

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